HRAFLEX BOOK #OJ13-001

KWOMA JOURNAL

John W.M. Whiting

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HUMAN RELATIONS AREA FILES, Inc.
New Haven, Connecticut
1970

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[Title page]

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Preface

128 This manuscript consists of the journal I kept while doing field work
114 on a tribe which eventually came to be known as the Kwoma. It covers the
121 period between September 1936 - May 1937. The late Professor Stephen Reed,
then a fellow graduate student, accompanied me up the Sepik River to Kwoma
territory where we worked together for 4½ months. At this time he left because his thesis problem required a comparison of the Kwoma with a more
acculturated New Guinea peoples, whereas I was interested in an intensive
128 study of socialization among the Kwoma. Most of the diary is my journal
with only slight editing to clarify shorthand and some of the pidgin English expressions. Some of these, however, have been left in, and a glossary provided as a key to understanding them. Some of the native terms are also left in the text. They are, however, usually defined in context, but if not, they should appear in the glossary of native terms. (Refer to pages 228-244.)

Although most of the journal is mine, in several instances Mr. Reed, or Tip, as he is referred to in the journal, took a turn. It will be noticed that their understanding of the social culture of the Kwoma is quite confused. At the beginning of the journal, we are at first under the impression that "Waskuk and Bangus" are either moieties of some tribe or neighboring tribes. It eventually dawned on us that they are divisions imposed upon the Kwoma by the British patrol officers. (Where they got the terms I was never able to find out, but they in fact had no reference to any structural reality of the Kwoma culture, except perhaps that Waskuk was translated with Bangus; and Waskuk, by the way, is the name which appears on Australian maps, and is also the name used by Margaret Mead who had previously visited the Kwoma). In addition to the journal, the case histories of two of my close friends and assistants have been appended.

128 These case histories are of their daily life as I saw it, and my interaction with them, rather than a retrospective history. Finally, there are some field notes particularly on material culture hitherto unpublished.

Many people have helped in turning this document into understandable English, particularly Jane Martin, who really has made order out of chaos. Had it not been for her, the manuscript would still be filed in one of my bottom drawers with a memo,"something ought to be done about this sometime."

Chapter I Orientation[1]

131 The Kwoma live in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea on the Peilungua Mountains, just north of the Sepik River and 265 river miles from its delta.
131 This small mountain system, not more than twenty square miles in area, is
133 bounded on the south and west by the Sepik and a lake formed by a former oxbow in the river, and on the east and north by the vast rolling watershed
133 of the river which stretches to the foothills of the coastal ranges. It consists of a primary orographical feature in the shape of a letter s, plus a series of short arterial ridges running off in all directions. From tip to tip as the crow flies the system measures a little over five miles in length. The slopes of these ridges are precipitious; in climbing it is often necessary to dig one's feet into the earth or hold onto vines to avoid falling. A dense forest of large trees covers the ridges and extends down to meet a sago swamp just above the level of the Sepik. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, rises 1,320 feet above sea level.

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[113] [1] For the following orientation, certain materials are quoted from the published reports on the Kwoma listed below:

"Kwoma Culture," John W.M. Whiting and Stephen W. Reed, Oceania, Vol. IX, No. 2, December 1938, pp. 170-216.
Becoming a Kwoma, John W.M. Whiting, Yale University Press, 1941.

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
[191] people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house Tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 _ 1.

2: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1970 OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

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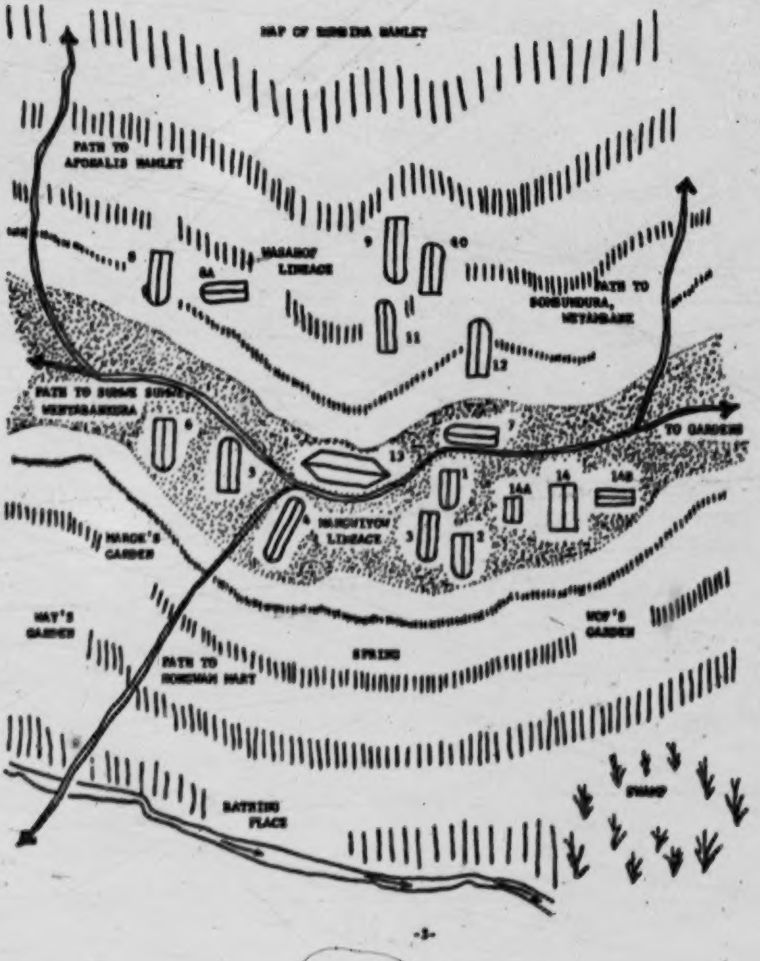
MAP OF RUMBIMA HAMLET
PATH TO AFOMALIS HAMLET
8
8A
MAGANOF LINEAGE
9
10
11
12
PATH TO BOMBUNDURA, METAMBANE
PATH TO SURME SUMBE WENTABANKIRA
6
5
13
7
TO GARDENS
1
14A
14
14B
4
NANGUIYOW LINEAGE
3
2
MARGE'S GARDEN
MAY'S GARDEN
PATH TO HONGWAM HAMLET
SPRING
WOF'S GARDEN
BATHING PLACE
SWAMP

RUMBIMA HAMLET (by household)

621 Mangwiyow Lineage

613
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1. Wof = Kaya = Chinuwe[2]
   Buka May Kum

2. Towaka Yawa

3. Mar Gwiyap Hriya Awa Fit

4. War = Bora = Kuma Kar = Di.a = Yuma Kia = Amba = Sunga[3]
   Mano Maya Num Suw ?oka

5. Yat = Kafa = Gaga
   Gwamp Njan

6. Way = Mowiskwi
   Yamba Gwanta Marik Kadowan

7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

Waashof Lineage

8. Waramua = Mapa
   (8a) Mas = Tiuba Aya Maoa

9. Afok = Kuma
   Kwaaf

10. Yokotay = Ngwiya
    Nambo

11. Daw = Mavena
    Kayamaka Towaka

12. Nwol = Gafo
    Angandim Angayamar

13. Rumbima house tamberan

14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters (Namb and Wisap)

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[2] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chinuwe are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Buka, May, and Kum are Wof's children. Names ending in a vowel refer to females, those ending in a consonant to males. This is an arbitrary distinction made for the reader's convenience.

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. The three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the Wanyi, who descended from a pig; the Hayamakwo, who descended from a great fish hawk; and the Tug, who descended from the sago palm. The men of Rumbima hamlet where we lived, claim descent [613] from the giant fish hawk, and hence belong to the Hayamakwo sib. They divide themselves into two lineages; the larger claiming descent from the culture hear[1] Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow reputedly had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. 592 Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendents of the five 361 brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us [613] [114] was named Wof (household 1, family line 2). He dwelt a few yards from out hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son May (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a neice), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof was a man of about forty-five whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He had the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house, the rather dilapidated dwelling of Towaka stood (Household 2). She was an old woman who could not walk because of a great sore on her leg but who made up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She was the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). Living with her was Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Towaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster, was a tall gangling youth who had not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He showed marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appeared unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him lived his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children--

[1] [i.e. hero.-Analyst]

621 Ewiye, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an
592 adolescent nephew of Wof's. Gwiyap, perhaps my Best informant, was a lad
361 just past puberty, not yet fully grown, but extremely intelligent, very active and had learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 3). With him lived his wife Bewi, his married sister Uka, and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok was in his middle twenties, the only male of his age group in the hamlet who had not left for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he was also the only one who spoke no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, was a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He had the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer, dancer, and a man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he had three children: Mema, and Heye, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lived in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, an intelligent young man in his middle twenties, had just returned frop working in the gold fields prior to our arrival and spoke pidgin English fluently. He had two wives, Difa and Tama, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and spoke pidgin English. He also had two wives, Sunga and Ambe, but no children.

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Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stood that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He was the only man in the hamlet who had learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and had also taken a head. He had two wives, Kafa and Gega, and one son, Njon (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There were no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling was one owned by Wey (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who had some reputation as a sorcerer. With him lived his wife Mowinbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Yambe and Owenta, and his two young sons, Marik, just weaned, and Kadowen, a few months old. Wey also had taken care of his nephew, Owump, ever since the latter's father, Takuvur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Wey's house was the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who was about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He was slightly cross-eyed and had a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him lived his wife Nowa, his eighteen-year-old son Mas, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kreo, a boy of about eight, and Timba, who was the wife of Mas and a niece of Wof.* Mas had started to build a house for himself and Timba near that of his father. There were no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house was the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He was married to a woman named Gufa, and they had two boys, Angandin, a young child, and Angawar, an infant. Kwal's

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* A theoretically incestuous marriage.

621 older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lived in the adjacent house with
592 his strapping wife Hawena, and two girl children, Kayamaka and Yauaka.
361 These two families comprised the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

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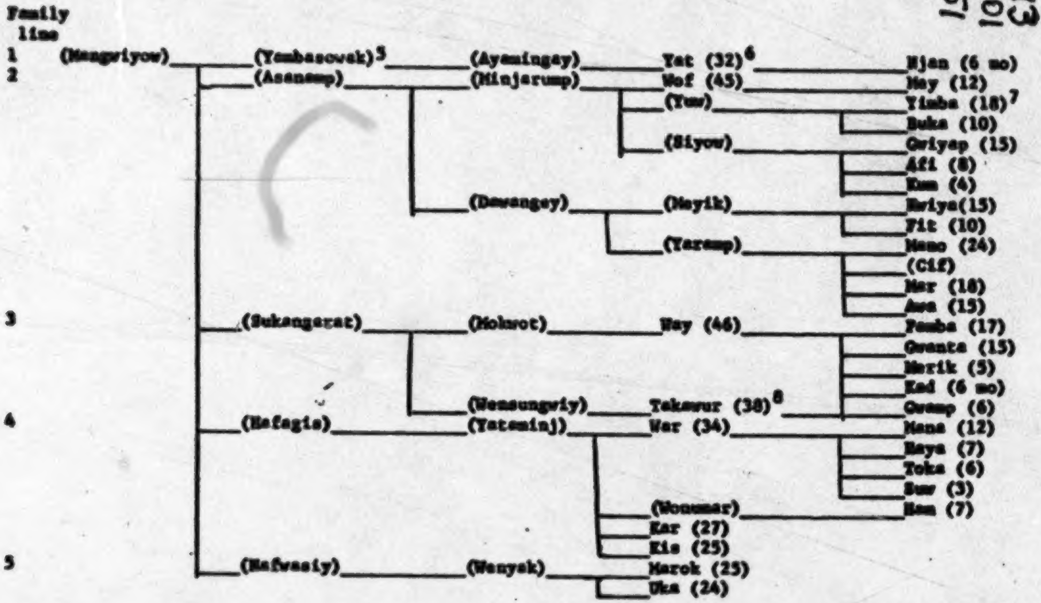
THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[4]


Family line
1
2
3
4
5
(Mangwiyow)
(Yambasovak)[5]
(Asanamp)
(Sukangerat)
(Hafagia)
(Hafwasiy)
(Ayamingay)
(Minjarump)
(Dawangey)
(Mohrot)
(Wansungwiy)
(Yatominj)
(Wanyak)
Yat (32)[6]
Wof (45)
(Yuw)
(Siyow)
(Mayik)
(Yaramp)
May (46)
Takawur (38)[8]
War (34)
(Wonumar)
Kar (27)
Kis (25)
Marok (25)
Uka (24)
Njan (6 mo)
May (12)
Yimba (18)[7]
Buka (10)
Gwiyap (15)
Afi (8)
Kam (4)
Nwiya (15)
Fit (10)
Mamo (24)
(Cif)
Mar (18)
Awa (15)
Pamba (17)
Gwanta (15)
Merik (5)
Kad (6 mo)
Gwamp (6)
Mana (12)
Kaya (7)
Toka (6)
Suw (3)
Ham (7)

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[4] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[5] The brothers in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a brother above him in the list older sibling; he calls a brother below him in the list younger sibling.

[6] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yataminj, of Wof is Woferaga, of May is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[7] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table. [8] Does not live in the hamlet.

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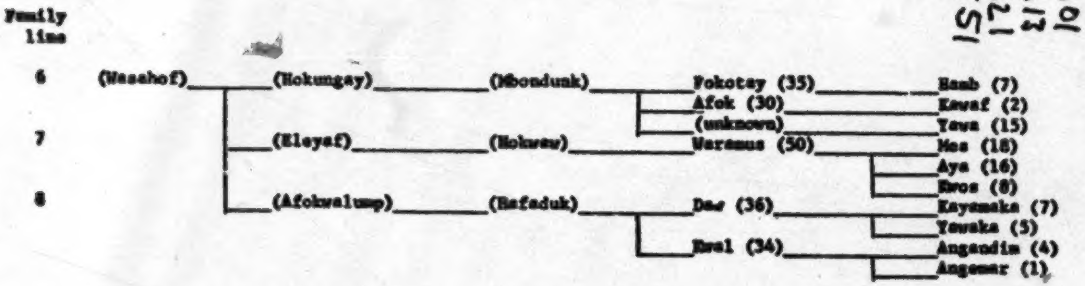
THE LINEAGE OF WASOHOF


Family line
6
7
8
(Wasahof)
(Hokungay)
(Eleyaf)
(Afokwalump)
(Mbondunk)
(Hokwaw)
(Hafaduk)
Fokotay (35)
Afok (30)
(unknown)
Waramus (50)
Daw (36)
Ewal (34)
Hamb (7)
Kawaf (2)
Yawa (15)
Mes (18)
Aya (16)
Ewos (8)
Kayamaka (7)
Yawaka (5)
Angandim (4)
Angemar (1)

Chapter II
Record of Events
Kwoma--Diary

October 12, 1936.

114 Yesterday was Sunday according to our figurings; it is the second Sunday
[123] since we arrived here. The Waskuk* with a finish/timer as their spokesman, declared
that no work was to be done since it was Sunday. They were probably
testing us out to see whether we were "missin" or not, for yesterday construction
went on as usual on our house boy's houses. The houses were
nearly completed, except for a few finishing touches. They also constructed
an outhouse for us.

342 Namb's house is almost square, constructed in the same manner as ours
with frame and maratta roof. There are no porches on the gable end, but
instead, a low verandah or gallery formed by setting the side wall back
about three feet from the edge of the floor and under the eves on the
south side. The walls consist of stiff thick reeds bound together like
a weir of fence, and held together by two sets of strips bound to each other
352 with rattan wound spirally between each reed. Namb is now making a bed. The
uprights of the house form three of its posts and fourth is stuck through
the floor in the middle of the room. He had bound cross pieces between these
posts and is now nailing slats across parallel to the shorter side. Over
this he intends to put a mattress of the same stiff reeds at right angles
to the slats. Namb is very proud of his house and considers it quite
superior to anything that the Waskuk could construct.

342 Wisep's house is peculiar in that the roof was taken from an old
[483] tumbled down Waskuk house and was carried up bodily by about thirty-five
of the Waskuks and set in place--a no small feat since the only mechanical
device was two or three forked sticks which they used to extend their
reach when the top edge of the roof was lifted onto the ridgepole. Also
they set up a scaffolding of a pole lashed between the uprights.

[101] * Waskuk is the name by which the Kwoma were known by the Australian administration.

123 When the construction of Wiesp's and Hemb's houses was finished, the workers lined up for pay. This paying them has been rather annoying to us, and I don't think we have handled it too well. When our house was finished, we told all the workers to come around and we would pay them for it. Many of them lined up, and wishing to please them and to start in their good graces, we were quite generous. We gave them ten axes and ten large knives and various other nick-nacks, such as small cheap paring knives for the children, a few pipes, two or three harmonicas, a few jew's harps, some stick tobacco and some rouge. There was some confusion and wrangling as to how it should be divided, but finally everything was settled. Then we discovered that about ten of the construction gang had been in the bush washing sago when the distribution took place. They kept coming in during the next few days and voicing their complaints. We don't know their faces well enough yet to know whether they are trying to get paid double or not. Also, we didn't know what they deserved--that is, how much work they had actually done on the house. While the whole affair irritated us no small amount, we decided we could not risk being partial, so we gave them several more large knives and axes. That was not the end of the episode, however. When the boys' houses were completed, the workers wanted more pay. We decided that the pay in this second case would be either a paring knife or a laplap. After we had dealt out this second payment, a half dozen more people stepped up and claimed that they had not been paid for making our house. They had also been away washing sago. We knew this to be true in a couple of cases, so we dealt out some more big knives. I doubt if there was any fraud involved; the irritant was the prolongation of the thing, and the feeling of unsureness on our parts of how to deal with it. Our house boys thought we were overgenerous.

123 There was an interesting occurrence when we were giving out the laplaps. We had just cut the last one that was wanted when up stepped Hamb, a youth of about seven who always went around naked as the others of his age. I couldn't help laughing at this and said, "Oh, come now Hamb, you don't want a laplap". The Waskuk joined in the kidding and laughter, and as a result the poor boy was quite put out and began to look very hurt and tears came to his eyes. Whether or not the others would have kidded him without my starting it or not, I don't know. Anyhow, I felt sorry for him and gave him a small piece of cloth.

After the payment was all settled and everyone seemed to be satisfied; I walked down the hill to the stream to bathe. On the way, several of the Waskuk "finished timers" spoke to me in a hushed voice as if they were telling me a secret of great importance. They said there was to be a "singsing" the day after tomorrow at Bangus and that we could watch it. I thanked them and am looking forward to the event.

October 13, 1936.

114 Yesterday passed rather uneventfully except that I tried to make a deck chair with a piece of canvas and some saplings bound together. I didn't have enough canvas to finish it, and the part that I did finish was rather rickety. Hamb said it was no good and to throw it away, and I guess he was right. At lunch, I was determined to try the gypsy stove which we had brought with us. Hamb had refused to use it, considering his open fire much better. I transferred some embers from the fire to the stove and tried to kindle them in the stove. Some of the Waskuks were
372 watching and took over after my unsuccessful attempts. To make a fire they put a live ember under a little pile of dry chips, and after blowing on it, very shortly have a flame going. For firewood they use a very dry

372 brittle wood, dead and somewhat wormeaten. They break the wood in length varying from two to four feet and place it on the ground radially from a center. The fire burns only at the end of the logs with practically no flame or smoke, but with intense heat. As the logs burn, they are pushed toward the center of the fire. I can't decide whether it is the type of wood or the arrangement of it that produces such a fire.

114 I put some potatoes in the oven to bake and then some time later asked Kamb where the pigeon was. He had shot one the night before, and I had mentioned that I was going to roast it. He had thought I was kidding evidently, for it was already in his pot over the open fire. This was somewhat disconcerting, but as it turned out to be very tasty--probably more so than my attempt would have been--he couldn't but be forgiven. Kamb is a good cook. Since it was very hot after lunch, Tip and I both lay down, read, and dozed.

796 Today was the first day of the "singsing". Before we had finished breakfast, the gongs began beating. Soon after we finished eating and had [123] treated the sores of a couple of youths that had come in, we started off to observe the ceremony. We were accompanied by Kar and Kamb who volunteered to show us the way. They led us down the north side of the mountain almost 346 to the edge of the sago plain--about a mile from our house. When we arrived, a couple of the "finish timers" came out and escorted us into the house tamberan.

The roof is arched; the ridgepole slants from the back to the front, where an extension overhangs the front of the building. The roof form is the same as the Purari delta type, but the building is not on piles. In the center of the house tamberan was an altar formed from a pile of yams and taro enclosed in a diamond-shaped kind of wicker basket. It was

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It
gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing
346 parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved
532 wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies
of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The
feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouria pigeon; they
were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of
each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine
inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to
relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the
impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed,
the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and
red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed
around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were
smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had
featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped
and representing a female. In addition, the whole altar was decorated with
red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us
123 and warned us that the "singing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that
[562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We
[858] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer, or they might
[648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies
except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose
of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the
[532] affair. We were then led up to the altar and shown each of the figures,

796
532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "tultul" and the "luluai" (pidgin for the native government representative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the altar. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasised with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air. The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one of the dancers would pick up a net bag (empty except for a withe inserted around its edge to make it stiff and fanlike), hold it above his head either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the "finish timers" wore laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

796 usual costume of an old bathing suit. The faces of practically all of
291 them were smeared with black paint, particularly on their eyebrows, and in
301 lines on their forehead. On some a narrow line of black was drawn along
[302] the hairline, framing the face.

796 In time to the dancing and the beating of the gongs, a chant was sung.
533 One of the dancers would start a short verse sung in a high monotone. It was spoken very rapidly, and I could not take it down very well. One verse sounded like *yagwuligwuligwuligo*. At the end of the verse everyone shouted in chorus *wewa* or *ewa*, with a prolongation and accent on the first syllable. It was shouted on a lower note than the verse; the second syllable was even lower than the first. After two or three verses, there was a longer chorus which started with *ewa* sung twice, followed by a sort of chant of *wahowaho*, *dadohoha*, or *hahohowa* that was sung on a higher note than those with the vowel "ə". After this longer chorus, they would lapse into silence for a moment, and the gongs would stop beating; but usually after only a few seconds, someone would start another song. After one person had started a verse, the others would join in. Some people were dancing almost constantly, more fervently than others; everyone, however, participated at some time.

796 There were six large gongs (logs) ranging from about eight feet long
534 and two feet in diameter, to half that size, lying around the sides of the house. The logs had been hollowed out in roughly the same manner as a canoe although the shell was much thicker, and usually only one end was pointed and carved. The slit on top was about six inches wide and about
[532] three quarters the length of the log. The carving was a rough representation of a crocodile. The beaters were round pieces of wood about a foot long

796 and four inches in diameter. They were not ornamented. The usual method
534 of beating the gong was to stand at right angles to it, the right side of the body next to the gong, a beater held in either hand. The gong was pounded near, but on either side of the slit, the beater striking endwise. This method was, however, by no means universal, for sometimes the drummer would stand facing the gong, or sit on it and idly tap with the side of the beater. The most usual and accepted method was the former; the latter the most informal. There were also several intermediate methods.

796 The rhythm consisted of accented beats and unaccented beats in alter-
533 nation. At each gong one of the drummers would pound out the accented, another the unaccented beats. Further, each gong would produce the rhythm of one accented and three unaccented beats. These beats were alternated among the gongs so that the accented beat of one gong would fall on the middle unaccented beat of another gong. Thus -/---/---/--- and ---/---/---/ would result in -/-/-/-/, (total effect). The rhythm of the gongs was more or less followed by the singers and dancers. This rhythm was not the only one employed, and Tip says that even it is not right. That is something we will have to check up on.

796 We stayed there and observed until just before noon. The dancing
123 and singing had been continuous until this time and then the dancers stopped for something to eat. We all went out into the small clearing in front of the house tamberan. In front of us was a line of coconut trees and beyond that a short drop, and then the sago swamp. On our left was a path coming down the mountain, and on the right, jungle growth. In the left
349 hand corner of the clearing and on the further side from where we stood another construction had been built. It was a representation of a ship with a mast, laddered rattline, and crabclaw sails represented by two

349 [177] coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation brought in by the "Finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 262 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 123 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singsing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us. [417] [346] [778] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the house tamberan so that the women, and uninitiated children who would come into the front court could not see the sacred altar.

796 123 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply
[797] a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has
[191] spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European clothes. She
[291] seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.
[177]

We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising.
126 194 We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, á, o, u and ü . Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š , y, j, l and ar. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cv́cv̇cv̀CV.
126 193 Length and stress seem to vary together. We have recorded the names of the various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. __Ma__ is the imperative particle, __saga__ exprdsses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

123 Toward evening about a dozen of the natives had gathered around our
526 house and we went out to talk to them. Soon we were idly tossing stones. They threw by stiffly rocking their whole bodies back and holding their wrists stiff. They did bend their elbows, however. None of them could throw as far as either Tip or I, but their accuracy at short distances was amazing. Approximately every other shot would hit a small sapling about twenty yards away.

114 While Tip and I were playing cribbage just before supper, it began to
132 rain-- a downpour with quite a strong wind. The house began to leak in various unsuspected places, particularly right over my head, where it came through with a gush and startled me. The storm lasted about half an hour when the wind shifted and the rain stopped. The wind is very peculiar here. It will blow up very strongly for about a minute and then will drop to almost an absolute calm for another minute.

796 Yesterday was supposed to be the second day of the singsing, but in the
764 morning Mar came to tell us that it had been postponed because someone had died the night before. He was a young man who had been sick for quite a while. We did not think it wise to be too inquisitive, but found out that he had not been buried, but "hung up". The singsing began again today however.

796 During breakfast we heard the gongs and chanting start, so we ate
[114] quickly and started down the hill. By this time the drumming and singing had stopped.

796 When we reached the house tamberan, several of the natives greeted us
346 and shook our hands. Everyone talked with a hushed voice, explaining to us that
778 the singsing had not yet begun. We were led up to the altar which had been
[123] rearranged since the previous day of the singsing. It was in the shape of an inverted truncated cone about four feet high constructed from net bags stretched

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
778 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves.
The mask near the front was called asambwarí, and belonged to Waskuk (an old
man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called abímakwa
and belonged to Bangus (actually to the cicatrizer). The space between the
masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin
seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or
closely netted fabric was called sawímayí. Another was similarly constructed,
but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called mo
maski (mo means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the
dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½" screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto
the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day,
but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did
not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singsing
[123]
[352] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
the altar while the "luluai" of Bangus, (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice
which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wí with
shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side
of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

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534 Finally everyone joined in and the _o wi_ was repeated three times. After about ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs. Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by [177] the _lului_ and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flutd which he piped very seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing at it very intently.

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648 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not to tell the "kiop" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bangus and that I was a Waskuk.* This pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

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262 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

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* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bangus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Rumbima, the one in which we lived, wheras Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bangus was the name of another tribe.

796 however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination--
264 mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It
[262] was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When
[123] the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous
[177] experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another
good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

796 After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of
123 yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for
us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next
[562] morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon
[858] soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

114 Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various
[122] informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely.
Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father
were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said
that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go.
[134] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which
[133] is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost
the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty
degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest
places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were
'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and
I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly
[48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel
and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the
ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half
hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud
from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar,
123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us.
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252 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots
[415] are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.)
[323] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty-
[439] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done
the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It
[263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt
[317] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the
mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette
and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

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114 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While
it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to
make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive.
Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had
developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that
we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the
21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older
men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing
father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[964] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We
asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report,
but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men,
however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added
very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old man, and
we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his
physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bengua and Waskuk have three phratries each with a name and a
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582 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother,
it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

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* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

582 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's
615 number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In
his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family.
The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's
social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk.
[595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of
them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 In the afternoon, Sovinambi, the Bangus _luluai_ (a chief appointed by
[622] the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence,
[648] and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows
[191] only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little
[619] Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their
names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area,
Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have
four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these
phratries is _koromp_. Our attempts to get his geneology were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called _nambu_.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

October 25, 1936.

101 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions
619 of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called
Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another
[197] group called kuomo.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and
101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the
river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau,
173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the
721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige.
726 A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it,
and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would
kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed.
[411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took
[727] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the
[266] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.

Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the
adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present generation, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people.
Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs
[648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the
Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit tree.

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* Probably Kwoma

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727 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader of the Ngaya, and his wife Mbuta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches. [266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwam. The Yasi came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwam and went to their present site at Yessan. Today the lake separates their land.

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[578] Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumbeya Nampara. Ngwisempte and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempte is now situated at Wenyabunkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessan. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

173 361 62 614 [648] settle with the Hongwam. When they first came, their house tamberans were Wambon and Ambunti. They were situated close together near the sago on the east side of the mountain on which Wenyabunkura is situated. When the police raided in 1928, they did not burn Wambon and Ambunti, but the Tug went into the bush just the same. They did not return to Wambon and Ambunti, but built Weyambank. Awinow, a segment of the Tug sib, are now at Weyambankura. Urambanj is also a segment of Tug now at Afokalis.

Soubundura of the Wanyi sib now have their own house tamberan, but were formerly at Weyambank.

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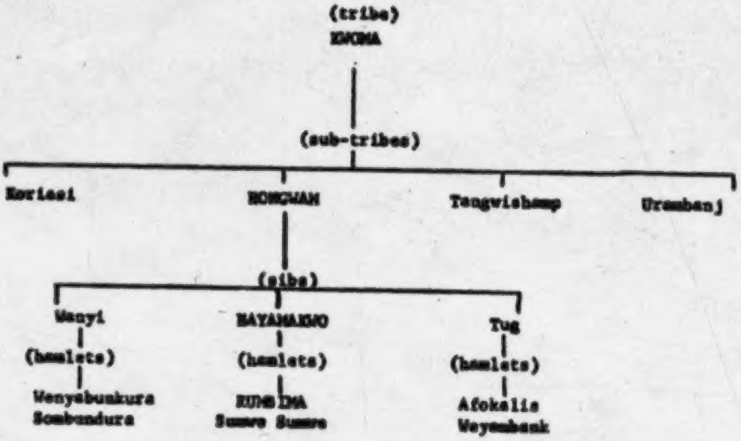
(tribe)
KWOMA
(sub-tribes)
Koriasi
HONGWAM
Tangwishamp
Urambanj
(sibs)
Wanyi
BAYAMAKWO
Tug
(hamlets)
(hamlets)
(hamlets)
Wenyabunkura
Sombundura
RUMBIMA
Sumwe Sumwe
Afokalis
Weyambank

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cuscus fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise
was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear
the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kum and War were homicides; each had killed an Urambanj.
After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation
for raids that the Urambanj had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line
up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is
drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of
labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do
the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of
washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[262] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.
[276] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.
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October 27, 1936.

114 The day before yesterday Namb went home (on the Sepik river) to put a roof on his house which he had started to build before coming to work for us. He will be gone three days and Wisep will do the cooking -- even though he doesn't know much about it. We spent the morning working up our notes and the afternoon reading and playing pounce -- a game Tip has taught me, and at which he beats me regularly.

754 Yesterday the gongs were going almost all day. A man was sick and the
755 gongs were 'talking' against those who had poisoned (black magic) him. Mar, our houseboy, came in very worried and said he wished we would take him to America; he did not like this fashion of making poison. Everyone
[125] seemed to be rather upset about the situation. Tip and I felt that perhaps we were suspected because another man had died just after we had arrived. Mar seemed to be doubly afraid because he was working for us.

114 Toward evening I went out to see if I could shoot a pigeon with the
761 .22. Gyiyap and Sof came with me. When we had gone a short way down the path, suddenly one of the gongs began to beat in a very slow and measured manner. Both of them stopped short and their faces fell. The man had
[602] died. Sof was the classificatory brother of the dead man and seemed quite upset. His jaw worked and he looked very serious. Then he delivered a very bitter tirade against the making of poison. It was a "fashion no good". The man who had died shortly after our arrival and the one who had just died had been brothers; neither had been sick very long nor were they old men. Since they were Bangus, the Waskuk were suspected -- "fashion no good". We continued down the path, but both Gwiyap and Sof were preoccupied,
764 said that the pigeons had all gone, so we returned. Almost as soon as the gong had started to toll, a wailing began...women's voices, some high,

764 some low, and each rising and falling in the range of a few notes. Sometimes the sounds blended and at others the effect was a discordant jumble.

When we got back to the house, there was a group of six or seven sitting around in front of the house, talking about the death. Wof, who had just returned from his yam planting, seemed rather more upset than the others. The dead man belonged to his mother's sib. Sof also remained with set face and working jaws. The rest were all laughing and joking and gossiping, and were much amused when a little later Tip and I started a pole vaulting competition.

In the morning the wailing continued. One of the natives said that it had gone on all night although we hadn't heard it. Occasionally the gongs were sounded. After breakfast, Mar said he was going to the funeral and asked if we would like to go. Tip and I had decided to split our work and to take turns going on trips, so I went with Mar. Gwiyap and Mey came too. They suggested that I carry the .22, so I did. When we had almost arrived at the scene of the wailing, a house near where the singsing had been held, we saw a pigeon. I didn't want to shoot for fear of disturbing the mourners, but the natives insisted that it was all right.

Wof and another man were sitting in a house next to where the mourning was taking place. They were looking rather sad. We sat down for a few minutes
[533] and watched the women wailing. They were sitting under the porch extension, shaking their shoulders slightly up and down as they sang. There did not appear to be any words. Only one man was there--Mweje, a dilapidated old fellow with a withered arm and a scar on his forehead caused by some disease which had eaten away the flesh to the bone. He saw us and becked us to come over. When I came up to them, several of the women stopped their wiling' to greet me as usual. Soon afterward, the wailing stopped. Some children

' [i.e., wailing - analyst]

764 came soon after we arrived and sat down. Then about six young men, mostly
"savvy talks" came into the clearing carrying a large wooden shield carved on its
[754] face. They came up, greeted me, and at once began talking in much the same vein
as Sof had the night before about the evils of black magic. Kwonayi came up,
[123] shook my hand and took the lead during all of this conversation, keeping ahold
of my hand the whole time. They excitedly talked about getting my cooperation
in punishing the culprit when he was found. They planned to take him to the
[154] "kiop" and have him put in the calabouse. They said the dead man had been
poisoned by somebody getting some of his food and burning it. They warned
me not to throw any of my food near the road where the natives could get at
it.

When they had talked themselves out, they carried the shield over and lifted the dead man onto it. Two women came and each broke a lime gourd on the shield, and poured the lime out. Two of the young men then lifted the shield onto their shoulders and started down the hill. I asked Kwonayi if I could follow, and he assured me there was nothing to be afraid of.

The procession very shortly reached a small clearing where there was a
house. On either side of the structure has been built a tall rectangular form,
one the burial platform of the man who had died a few weeks ago and the
other ready to receive the present remains. There was a faint smell of decaying
[417] flesh coming from the older platform. The other one had a ladder leading up to
the small cubicle which was formed by a platform and flat roof. The body was
carried up the ladder feet first and the shield was removed. Then the women,
who had resumed their wailing when the man had been put on the shield, entered
the enclosure and sat down in front of the house. When I had first arrived
only one of them had any special mark of mourning--her face had been smeared
with clay. Now most of them had a band of lime on their foreheads-- presumably
[602] from the broken lime gourds. (Later I found out that the classificatory sisters
of the deceased wore this badge; relatives by marriage did not.)

764 [415] Next a bamboo filled with water (the usual mebhod of carrying water) was carried up the ladder by Afalowenj, an old man; he was assisted by two other men in washing the body. Meanwhile the "savvy talks" broke the points of two spears formerly belonging to the deceased. These were passed up the ladder to the cubicle and lashed crossways over the body. The arms and legs of the body were lashed to the floor, and the burial was complete. The undertakers climbed down the ladder and went off to wash, saying that they would meet me at the house tamberan, where sortly[1] thereafter the gong tolled. As I was leaving, I heard one of the women inside of the house sobbing instead of wailing in the patterned manner.

754 Wof and some others were already at the house tamberan when I arrived. Later some of those who had officiated at the funeral came. The conversation once again turned to poison. Kwonai described the process by which he considered the man to have been killed. The group had calmed down considerably and now discussed the affair much more matter-of-factly than they had previously. They were still bitter toward the perpetrator of the deed and seemed to be afraid for their own safely. Kwonai told me someone had stolen a bit of food which the deceased had carelessly thrown away; the evil doer had then carried it to Koriyasi, who had performed a magical rite on it. They had put the leavings in a tall narrow pot, filled it half full of water, and let it boil away until only the sediment of the food remains were left. A bamboo of cold water was then poured into the pot and on the fire. That is followed by an explosion of steam. The food disappears, and soon afterward the man died.

114 October 28-Nov. 9, 1936. A week ago Friday, October 30, Tip and I went in to Ambunti to spend the weekend for the sake of a holiday. Bob Overall had brought the mail up the river that morning, so we were greeted with a very welcome packet of letters. George and Max (a medical assistant

[1] [i.e., shortly-analyst]

114 stationed at Ambunti) were very gracious to us. We relaxed, talked, played cards, and read. Tip went back Monday, but Max persuaded me to stay at the station until the sores on my legs were cleared up. I had gathered quite a number of these by scratching mosquito bites until they became infected. The sores were not bad, but Max was afraid that they might turn into tropical ulcers if they were not attended to. By Thursday I was completely cured and already had my luggage packed in the canoe when the gongs began beating at Malu, a couple of miles down the river, announcing a pinnace. I decided to wait in case there might be more mail. It was Townsend, the District Officer in charge of the whole Sepik area making a patrol of the sub-stations. Soon after he arrived another pinnace arrived. It was bringing Pursehouse, a cadet who was to accompany Townsend up the river to the Yellow River station. Counting McKackney, the engineer of Townsend's pinnace, that made six Europeans at the station--quite a remarkable occurrence. Max and George had to combine resources to seat us all that night for dinner. The mail situation was disappointing--only three Sydney papers and the September issue of the _Pacific Island Monthly_. I got a ride on the pinnace up to the lake below Waskuk. They towed my canoe; it was a much more comfortable mode of travel. Once, however, the pinnace turned suddenly to avoid a log, and the canoe filled with water and almost swamped. I held it up by the tow rope while the natives bailed it out. My luggage, however was soaked, but there was no serious damage.

796 _November 9, 1936_. Tip was in good health when I returned. There had been a
346 singsing while I was gone to celebrate the building of a new house tamberan.
346 (I will copy his notes) " The new house tamberan belongs to Sasiyambi of the _wayémbauré_ sib at Bangus. It may be said to start when the l'xlɨ' center posts (_hwaté_) and beams and rafters are cut and stripped of their

346 bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (*ndup*), which are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying [483] the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (*wankɨ*) fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and smaller one which stands stripped of its maratta inside the new one. The staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been finished.

796
346 "The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation, [202] for they will be allowed to go. The night before the maratta is to be fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone [533] seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the maratta [192] to the refrain of a *hogwasawɨt* (A leader sings a sentence and the workers answer with a long drawn out and falling *owi*.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the ridge pole. The *hogwasawɨt* reaches the coda. After singing three lines all together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest [462] of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it [614] isn't taboo to them--merely men's work. All the sibs of Waskuk and Bangus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk *luluai*, Marak is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

796 346 [192] This is a 'singsing nothing' (hongwajiju). It seems to be a ceremonial anger, for in a very few minutes I am told "he no got cross now", but the singsing keeps on in two groups, both singing different songs.

"Sowinambi comes up to me, taps his chest, and says, 'enji korumpé' (my sib). There are two hand prints on the first kwaté as high as a man can reach. These were made by Sowinambi who put black paint on his hands and left his prints, right and left--one hand for Waskuk, one for Bangus. [177] (This is an innovation introduced by finish-timers who have signed contracts with their fingerprints.)

"In the center of the new structure there are three wooden slat beds. Around one are gathered a half a dozen men who are holding a small ritual. There are three men who stand out as leaders: War, Sowinambi, and Nogwat, [537] representing the Rumbima, Wenyabankura, and Duwus sibs respectively. Each of these three takes a turn and sing-speaks as fast as he can until he forgets, or gets tongue-tied, or stops. War and Nogwat throw themselves [535] into it more than Sowinambi who stands quietly. The former two dance and [533] sway and gesticulate as they lead. The others and a few sitting close by on logs sing the owi chorus. In the midst of this some of the 'finish timers' and older men are indulging in a little rough horseplay consisting of sprinkling lime over the singlets or bare chests of each other. Old wrinkled 'leatherneck' greets a middle aged man whom he sees sitting on a log, by approaching him and rubbing his limegourd on the other's jaw. The gesture is returned. Men are sitting in the house tamberan on sticks or logs because the ground is still soft and muddy. It has not been packed down by many feet as in the older house tamberans.

"At about two P.M. the sun breaks through the heavy fog which has held through the morning. Sowinambi passes the word for food to be brought.

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[262] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago
and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi
has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload
796 and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
264 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water"sac sac"
[262] and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[614] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving
advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished,
the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor
reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken
frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the
backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women
linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils
used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished
in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up
in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singsing
is finished.

796 "The men return to the 'singing' and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and
dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

796 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing
346 will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of
755 the Bangus man was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the
754 [796] gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot
of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was
coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within
[123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went
to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The
[753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however,
that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their
attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days
ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree
fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope
for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk
gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we
[123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe,
but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it.
They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not
to allow any old men into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all
a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better,
we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our
house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there
[372] and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential
part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light
their cigarettes.]

000 482 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by
carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags
with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men
carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder.
562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were
past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the
men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders.
We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know
whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They
always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering.
Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They
will dump their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of
men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen
them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves,
but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women
[855] are much less shy than younger ones. This situation is going to make it
[123] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or
five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of
biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel
confident that this will be possible.

114 132 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there
was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their
violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to
[136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from
the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did
very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriasi,
and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

211 at one side of which there was a stone about thirty inches high and five
inches square set on end. There were two chips out of the top of this.
[648] Gwiyap, who was with Tip at the time, explained that it was put up by the
Germans after they had killed a Waskuk man and woman in retaliation for the
spear one of their entourage had received in the leg from the natives.
The chips from the stone represented the two deaths and was put there as
a reminder of them. The story also goes that the police boys of the
Germans cooked and ate the Waskuk woman.

778 The next day on a trip in the other direction he discovered another
stone of interest. This was another small monolith about three feet high
and eight inches square. It was situated in the clearing of the Sombundura
house tamberan in front of the house and on a line with its main axis.
[821] When Tip touched it, Gwiyap and others were much aghast. They said that
this would cause a big wind to come up. Actually the wind continued to
blow that night, but it was calm the following night.

443 Yesterday morning, Nov. 12, Tip went down to the "bung" (pidgin for
439 market place) to watch the Waskuk women trade their sago with the Yambon
443 women for fish, betel nut, and beads - mainly fish. Word had been sent
203 announcing the trading by a mnemonic device consisting of a knotted string -
211 one knot for each day which was to intervene between the reception of the
string and the actual trading. The trading was done very expeditiously,...
I think I will copy Tip's notes.

[439] "A regular trade is kept up between Yambon and the Waskuk. The
particular day on which it will be held is set by the Waskuks. This is
communicated to the Yambons by means of something in the nature of a
443 knotted string.....The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the

443 The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the *barad* (canal) leading from the foot of the Waskuk mountain to the Sepik. [489] This varies according to the height of the river water. At high water canoes can come up to the very edge of the forest. At present the end of canoe navigation is 100 yds. out in the swamp grass.

"The market is held a few hours after sunrise for it takes more than an hour for the Waskuk to descend the mountain and about the same time for the Yambon to paddle up-river in their canoes. I reach the edge of the swamp grass shortly after 8 A.M. The Waskuk are before me, but the Yambon are not yet in sight. Four young men of Waskuk are seated on logs around a small fire. Twenty to thirty women sit in three groups apart from the [293] men without the benefit of the shade which the men enjoy. The women hold slabs of bark over their heads to avoid the sun and still wear their string bags even though they are sitting down. They talk among themselves as do the men with only a few remarks passing between the groups.

"After a few minutes wait, the heads of men poling in three canoes can be seen above the swamp grass. There are eight or nine canoes, but since the Sepik river women paddle sitting, these cannot be seen until they have reached the head of the canal. When they are all grounded and their paddles have been stuck upright in the mud alongside their canoes, the Waskuk women gather up their digging sticks and bark wrapped bundles of washed sago to walk through the ankle deep muck to the canoes. I follow shortly after with the men. The Waskuk women are busy setting up their digging sticks or, if they haven't one, a piece of bamboo of the same length. In front of these uprights each woman deposits her forty to fifty pound bundle of sago and unwraps it. The food had about the consistency of roquefort cheese and stands up in a triangular lump when the bark wrappings [439] are removed. Its colour is grey or a dirty pink. The Yambon women now

443 start the business. They bring two or three bundles of small fish each.
439 The bundle is of narrow brown leaves about a foot long and two inches in diameter, and contains between one and two dozen minnows of at least three different species. They walk about looking over the different lumps of sago which the Waskuk women have broken up into pieces roughly six inches square. One "rope" of fish is worth one block of sago at the present rate of exchange. But there is some inspection of the sago on the part of the Yambons and a similar feeling of the fish bundles by the Waskuk. There is little talk during the exchange. A Yambon woman sees some sago that catches her fancy. She taps the woman who stands by it to gain her attention and offers her a "rope" of fish. The Waskuk woman pinches the fish, is satisfied, and hands her a block of sago for it. The Yambon carries the sago to her canoe and comes back with more fish. The Yambons now change their article of trade from fish to the native spinach, and betel nuts. A few ropes of beads are also offered for the little sago that remains. The whole period of actual trade has been about 15 minutes. The few men of Yambon and Waskuk who are present wander about on the edges and take no active part in the exchange. When it is finished, the Waskuk retire toward the forest with their net bags only partly filled by the few fish and vegetables they have received. They all stop in a little pool in the swamp grass to wash the last bits of sago from the bark wrappers.

142 " The contrast between the Yambon and Waskuk women in physique is very clearly seen at this time. It is like looking at paintings by El Greco and Rubens side by side. Yambon women are short, spindly and undernourished looking. Their breasts droop and their malars stand out. Their colour is dark brown. Few of them would look out of place riding a broomstick,

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The
Waskuk on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before
and their butts behind. Their bosoms are full to overflowing, and their
round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they
are noticeably lighter than the Yambons. Only one or two old women are
present."

342 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 12), I went down to Mar's house. It is a
structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope
to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and
the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the
bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two
thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only
a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a
353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door
342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping, storing
their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are
hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them.
[592] In this room sleep Mar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys
[515] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago
bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall
during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door.
Interestingly enough, Mar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not inclosed by this room acts as a sort of
[354] porch. Here a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet
[262] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made
[415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half
[412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears
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353 411 [237] I noticed some spears on a rack just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary enemy.

619 586 [721] Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance. The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "make court" against the culprits at Ambunti. This morning, as far as we could make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly [126] swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little, but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system. It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

124 evidence that it formerly existed; marriage--matrilocal, with gift of shells from boy's family to girl's; residence after marriage--patrilocal; and enough on language to enable us to understand vaguely what the old men are saying as they sit around the fire.

115 [648] Yesterday, a Mr. Eve came to Waskuk. He is a surveyor for "Oil Search" Ltd. and has been all through the country between the Sepik and the Dutch border except for one little corner. Most of this country hasn't been traversed by anyone but him, and we spent a most interesting afternoon with him. He has made incidental anthropological notes as he passed through - such as house form, village arrangement and size, clothing, etc. He has all the names of the native villages in this area that he has seen (I guess he has not missed many), and he is going to let us make a rough copy of it this afternoon, and tell us what he knows about the vill ges at the same time. I should say that we were very much in luck to meet such a man. He had a lot to say about Thurnwald and admired his work very much. He said that he didn't get half the credit he deserved for his pioneering work. For instance, Champion and Karius only had to go eight miles (just over the limestone barrier) from the headwaters of the Fly to connect up with Thurnwald's work of years before, but they do not mention this. Another interesting thing that he has run across is a tribe in the interior which has a whistling language. Luckily he has two work boys from this place with him now, and I am going to see if I can get anything from them on their language and their tribe this afternoon while Tip works on the map.

DECEMBER 1. Mr. Eve stayed here three days and lived up to expectation. Tip made a copy of the map and got quite a few notes on the tribes that Eve had visited...enough to give a rough idea of where to go to future field workers. Had we met him before we settled here, I think we could

115 have made a better choice. I got some texts on the whistling language. It is a surprisingly well developed form of communication and as far as I can tell, independent of their spoken language. It consists of different combinations of three factors,--two tones and a stop. These can be spoken or shouted with a high tone, a low tone, and the glottal stop. It can be whistled, or, for very long distances, blown through a large open whistle of bamboo.

One of the most interesting things that Eve told us was evidences of Malay bird of paradise hunters in the area roughly west of a line drawn from here northward to the coast, and extending to the Dutch border. This is evidenced by the fact that the natives would come out and pantomime shooting a gun and using a ramrod, and would jabber to him a few words of Malay Pidgin. He checked up on its being Malay Pidgin by looking it up when on leave and learning enough so he was able to answer them on his next trip in. Another thing of interest is a homogeneous culture area about eight days march south of Aitape--very thickly populated, about eight-hundred to the village, very friendly, with food aplenty, and as yet untouched by recruiters, etc.

126 After Eve left, we worked on revising our phonemes. Our first rough attempt was not satisfactory. The one we have now is better, but still far from perfect. We also went over all the words we had collected, revised them and arranged them alphabetically in a loose leaf dictionary. We find that we have about four-hundred -- not enough, and a particular paucity of verbs
[124] which are rather hard to get at. It is difficult to get texts because the
[123] myths are supposedly esoteric and only recently have people been willing to
[196] tell us any. From this dictionary we have made, several interesting word configurations and a promise of more have appeared - for instance sugilawas

126 which seems to mean 'sacred' is the term for the ghosts of powerful men,
196 for the big masks on the alter at the "singsing", and is a special term of greeting meaning something like 'hail, powerful man' or perhaps more accurately it is a sort of cult shibboleth. Then there is sukwiyewi which is 'to dream' and sukwié which is the term for "singsing" and another term for the sacred masks. Since they translate dreaming into pidgin as "look im tamberunk(ghosts)," there are seems to be some connection which may throw some interesting light on their theory of dreams. We have already noted that the subject of their dreams is almost universally dead people. Such a bias would have to be allowed for if any Freudian interpretation was attempted....Then there is the term wofu which means 'mother's brother's wife' and 'lungs'. This we can make no sense of except that the lungs are thought to be non-functional appurtenances.

124 This reminds me that a week or so ago, Kar, one of the most intelligent of the "savvy talks", came in and we got from him their knowledge of anatomy. (See Part III, Ethnophysiology)

114 To get back to the present, after we had finished the dictionary, there was a rainy spell. No informants came around, and we did not feel like sloshing around to look them up. Both of us were pretty low. We figured that we hadn't gotten anything worth while, and the chances of our doing so were pretty slim. We felt that the people were so scattered about that it was very difficult to observe anything like village life, let alone anything on our special projects. We even thought of moving to some other place - Yambon, for instance. We were not very serious about this, however, because it would not be worth while to lose what little we already had.

124 The only thing to break the monotony of the rainy days was a great deal of talk one evening down below at Wof's house. He is our nearest neighbor and his house is about forty or fifty yards down the hill. This talk kept
000 up long after they were settled for the night. It turned out the next

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys)
had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words
she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof
exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry
at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in
the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex.
What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is
probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of
striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously
when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When
we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all
on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Marok) what sugilavas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask
which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This
suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib:
pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These
are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

614 [769] along man", but we could not make out just how. There was one fragment of a tale about men being originally pigs, but some of them developed hands and feet and became men. There was no trace of any taboo on eating these objects, but it nevertheless seems to be definitely related to the totem notion.

614 276 773 In discussing the totems of one of the other sibs, tobacco turned out to be one of the plants included. We quizzed him on this, and he insisted that the original ancestor had discovered it. It had come about in this manner: The original sib father had killed another man and from his blood a plant had grown. The sib father had tried to eat the plant, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked it, and it was very good. Later, people from all around came to get the seeds, but it had originated here. Our cook boy, overhearing the conversation, broke in at this point, saying that this was not straight, that Yambon (his place) 174 276 was the one 'belong tobacco'. This is fairly interesting in relation to the controversy about whether tobacco was introduced by white men. If so, it was at least before Marak's time, and I should say he was sixty. And even more interesting is the fact that tobacco is a totem plant and has a myth of origin along with coconuts, yams, pigs, etc. This, of course, does not prove anything, but is some indication of antiquity, enough to put its origin before plantation owners settling in New Guinea; and why in the world should the traders and bird of paradise shooters bring tobacco seed with them?

132 133 December 9, 1936. This is Tip taking a turn at the journal.

Now "time bilong high water" is setting in. The Sepik has risen a great deal and the swamp to the south is being slowly covered by its 132 overflow. The weather remains the same or a little better. We have had

132 several clear and fresh days and cool nights - wonderful for sleep. And
132 even more important is the fact that the mosquitos are very few. Why this
136 is so we have no idea. There seems to be no rhyme or reason to their
[825] comings and goings. The natives have a belief that they move in a body at this time from the river villages, Yambon, Malu, etc., up to the Hongwam where they stop for a time. Then they visit each of the other Kwoma settlements in turn before moving off to the north.

123 Our gathering of data in the last week has largely been influenced by events in the lives of individuals and ceremonial affairs. Plans for the day's work which we make in the morning often fall by the way before noon. For example, a week ago a small boy who is often about the house came running in to say that Mar, one of the Hongwam youths who fetches water and firewood for us, was dead. We had given him permission to go to his bush house and garden over near Ambunti Mt. two days before, and he had gone off in good spirits. This gave us a jolt. We asked if he were "dead finish". The answer came "no got, dead liklik dasol".

We packed a few medicines and immediately started out with a half dozen of Mar's kin over the same gruelling track which had nearly killed us several weeks ago. When we arrived we found Mar sitting near a fire list-
[753] less and moaning. They all agreed that it was a case of 'poison' because of the suddenness of the attack and because the patient could not 'talk straight'. Even we could notice that he was mouthing his words when we could get him to answer a question. He complained of intestinal pains, but no headache, and his temperature was exactly normal. We thought it best to get him back to his house proper and out of the wet swampy hollow where he was. He protested and did not have the strength to stand on his own feet.
123 We gave him a strong purgative. During this time Wof, his father's elder
755

123 brother who had come with us, was gathering leaves of a nettle shrub. These
755 he arranged in the shape of a cone and whispered into as if it were a microphone. Then while we held Mar on his feet, War rubbed him down from shoulders to toes with these stinging leaves. The result, whatever the cause, was that Mar could now stand. We gave him the end of my stick, and John pushed from behind; thus we started back. His dependence on our assistance decreased noticeably as we proceeded.

Our return was something of a triumph as Wof told everyone of how we had brought Mar home. However, he was not out of danger of dying from black magic, and that night his kin beat the air with lighted bamboos to drive off *gamba*.

754 There isn't space to list all of the aspects of the case, but it is
753 interesting to note that Mar thinks that a man named Waramus of his own sib whose daughter Mar had recently been refused in marriage, made the poison. This is the only case we have come across where a sorcerer has been named. (I'll have to say now that Waramus is only a temporary member of the sib *Rumbiman*. There has been a very complicated process of splitting up and fusion of sibs here which we'll be able to talk of later.)

Mar remains about the same as when we first saw him. His appetite is good, but he lies down all day and claims that he has no strength in his "meat". He still says that it is poison although the general attitude in this regard is that when you have poison, you don't linger but die in a day or two. We are getting any number of insights and leads from this case although the case itself has us guessing.

164 Mar's illness seems to have ushered in an epidemic of sickness.
[123] Several small children have malaria; many bruises and contusions have to be treated, and one man came requesting epsom salts to cure his case of water

164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125] [657] here in a few days on his patrol.

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle
and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be
made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get
geneologies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are
not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term _naremboy_ we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited
number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age
grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be
scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They
are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[264] yet know. Later on when one's _naremboy_ dies, the others get particular
parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around
114 the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little
bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John
has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different
[158] from Hongwam. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being
here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Muudik, this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly
swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His
story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabankura sib
woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

114 627 he had presumed to go to the house tamberan where the big men were blowing the sacred flutes. Here they had given him a beating, but he had escaped and sought to hide in another house. This belonged to one of the four "finish time" boys who have broken their contracts and are hiding from the "kiap". This man and others turned on him, tied him up, and gave him an all night beating.

We called out for a Hongwam "bavi-talk" . Kis came up and was not at all surprised. His story was that Mundik had tried to 'pull' or kill one of the Wanyabankura women, that he was crazy, and that they had tied him up to [648] [123] protect themselves. They knew that the "kiap" had tabooed killing. I'm sure that that alone saved Mundik's life. He is seeking sanctuary in our house now, which means that we will have to tread with care. We will send him to Ambunti and request that he be given work there. He will have to take his chances with the law, but that is probably safer than spears if he stays around here-- or returns to his village.

614 To return to more mundane things, we have been revising the lists of 'totems' which we first got from some of the "monkis". These are called samba and include a hawk and a pig which are connected with the ancestry of two of the peoples in Hongwam. We have also been corrected by different informants when we said that tobacco was one of Rumbiman's samba. John discovered that two other groups are combined in the Hongwam sib and got some 174 very interesting leads regarding sib history. The two punitive expeditions to Hongwam in 1913 and 1928 serve as rough pegs for time-perspective. There have been many changes within this period which may be able to throw some light on the problem of social change.

765 Yesterday while John worked with Yat on sib history I went over the mountain to Wenyabunkura where the final burial of a man's second wife was being held. It was a cheerful gathering in marked contrast to the primary funeral of a Bangus man written of before. The ceremony has been going on for three days-- preparation of food by the women, breaking down the burial platform and burying the skeleton under the eves of her husband's house, etc., beating the gongs and blowing the flutes in the house tamberan by the initiated men. Much of this had gone on before we were told of the event. It was ten months to a year ago that the woman died.

In the morning a crowd of 50 or 60 men, women and children are gathered
[124] at the widower's house. My informant and interpreter is Kar, of Rumbina, who
has been up all night beating gongs. He is sleepy and hungry but is very
[123] good at pointing out what is going on. The widower, Yafamangwiya, greets me
cordially and dubs me *naramboy*. He sits on the ground just before his house.
The porch is packed with women and girls all sitting and waiting for food to
[262] be distributed. Men are busy laying out boiled sago bricks and pieces of
roast pig on large breadfruit leaves. Yafamangwiya points out to me most of
his relations and what he calls them-- also what I am to call them, until my
[262] head is spinning. Then he leaves me to give his *ruwe* (niece, in this case)
a bite of sago, thus breaking the taboo which has been placed on boiled sago
for this and other relations.

After each of the women has received two or three parcels of food amidst
a hubub of advice from these men who are not taking part in the distribution,
[533] the party breaks up. The women and children return home while the men and
[534] semi-initiated boys run for the house tamberan to "fight the *garamut*" and
blow the flutes. This is done, I am told, because the men are sorry for the
woman who is dead. But they are all having a wonderful time expressing their

765 sorrow. Six gongs ranging in size from 4' to 10' to 12' are beaten with
533 tremendous vim. Each man has two strikers, one in either hand. With the
534 left they keep up a light and rapid beat while with the right they pound out the changes according to a prearranged score. From the discussions and hummings which go on before a round is played, I think that these may be made up on the spur of a new idea. The pair of flutes, on the other hand, plays duets which are stereotyped. Two duets that I have, rather simple ones, are said to represent the flying fox and a small white pigeon.

As for recording the garamut 'talk' and beating of the hand drums, we are at a loss as to how to record them. The bhythm seems like no rhythm at all and even when it is tapped out on a table we soon get lost in a maze of short, long and intermediate beats.

124 Our houseboys are serving as occasional informants so that we can get some sort of a comparative picture. John has done some work on language and I have a kinship system of sorts. The boys are not too long on memory but
114 their wives are better informed. We are going to Yambon for a few days just before Christmas to trace down various connections with that culture which we have come across here. There are three or four other places around and about which we hope to visit. We have a plan which might be valuable to other field workers who might consider coming to New Guinea. This is to gather all the information that we can about places and cultures of this section of the Territory where work could be done. Mr. Eve gave us a good start with all that he knew at first hand.

461 We find so far that it is well nigh impossible to make appointments with informants. This is not because the men are lazy and sit about all day-- on the contrary they strike us as being an exceedingly industrious people. Too much so for the arm chair field worker. But then it's all to the good to beard them in their own dens if we can find them at home.

794 The word *sugilawas* which John spoke of before seems to be a horn of
[124] plenty for information although we are far from ready to define it. Through
talking of it we found out that there are three (?, groups, or something)
named *yenengara*, *minjama*, and *nokwisugwi* which are *sugilawas* "true" .
These seem to be male secret societies which function at ceremonies and which
sometimes have ceremonies of their own. The first two of these we know to have
emblems, small wooden figures and face masks, and large face masks respectively.
How membership is determined in the first two is still a question. From the
few cases we have it seems that if a man is in *yenengara* his first son will
be *minjama*, his second *yenengara*, etc. But there also seems to be movement
upwards as if they were based on age grades. *Nokwisugwi* seems to stand
considerably above the other two. Men of our own age are not allowed in it.
Payment of pig and possibly other foods is necessary for admission.

After tomorrow we will be able to tell more of this last group for we
are to be allowed to attend a ceremony of this kind now underway in the
[534] Abagalis sib. A wooden trumpet has been blown down there for the last two days.
No attention is supposed to be paid to it and only initiates are supposed to
[562] know what is taking place. Our house"monkis" however tell us in whispers that
it is a singsing for *maris*, that all the wives goes out into the bush while
[534] the men "work something" in the house tamberan. Later on they go out and round
up the women and then furiously beat a water drum made of a small canoe.
123 We feel duty bound to go out and shoot a couple of pigs now. Our progress
through these grades of prestige has been unprecedented, I am sure. If we
can only make the good-will that we have gained pay dividends in facts we
should have something to show when we are through.

126 I am rather disappointed in the possibilities for photography here.
I don't like to risk smashing my Leica when I'm stumbling about in the bush,

126 and the men are averse to having pictures taken of their more esoteric ceremonies. Some of the women had a "cross" on with me a while ago for taking a lot of photos of their trading with Yambon. They seem to have a sense of shame at their nakedness.

Developing our negatives is a risky business. By rising before six we can usually get our solutions to 70°F. But once we start to develop, we are at the mercy of the weather. If a mist sets in, it is likely to last all morning so that is takes an entire day for the negatives to dry as they should.

796 December 17th, 1936. (Again Tip). The nokwi sugwi which we attended a week ago today was a banner occasion. We had heard it called, in pidgin, "singsing bilong mari", so we were ready for anything up to ceremonial rape. The morning was cold and rainy and only a few men were at the house tamberan beating the huge gong. We had arranged to go down to Abagalis with War, but we had [302] to wait about half an hour while he 'dressed'. This consisted of smearing [301] his body with a sticky oil, drawing a black band with charcoal around the hair line of his face, carefully painting his face with ochre powder, putting on broad shell-washer arm bands and a tiny rope of shells across the forehead, and finally sticking a bird of paradise 'duster' in his hair.

During this process we talked with War's brothers who are "finish-timers" of our age. These lads are still too young to go to this ceremony. What the qualifications are we do not know, but have an idea that the members [417] fulfill the homicide qualification. When we arrived at Abagalis we found that a high fence of sago fronds had been erected around the clearing at the north end of the house tamberan. Near the center was a 10' x 3' pit [534] dug in the ground and half filled with water. In the water suspended by both ends was what we will call a water gong. It is made of the good

796 sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung
[534] bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the "benis" quite often.

[346] In the house tamberan there is the same altar set up in the center with
[778] a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden
[534] trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This
[532] is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary
[614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the altar. These
two are *sugiliwas* of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon.
[535] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong
[533] counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few
[534] interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men
drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come, so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Hongwam sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and
[703] Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four,
[178] however, wore the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact
[554] that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions.
[726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small
hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

000 yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 While John was joining in and trying to learn the dance step and songs
123 (which amused but did not anger the men) I sat in the house tamberan with
534 the older men and those not dancing and tried my skill with the wooden trumpets. These are blown sporadically as are the flutes, and as the
[177] ordinary gongs are beaten. The trumpets have an interesting history. They were captured from men from Avatip (on the Sepik below Malu) by the grandfathers of the present older generation. They are finely carved wooden cornucopias with a crocodile head motif at the closed end. The lip-piece is on the side. I blew it quite easily the first time, but the men seem
[614] to make very hard work of it. The trumpets are now in the custody of Bumbima sib.

796 In the late afternoon the men began to drop out to ornament themselves in earnest. One man joined the dance with a man-killing spear, and the
[123] others increased the tempo. At about this time we began to get the feeling that we were not wanted much longer, so when a couple of the men picked up the two brace of yams and coconuts which had been given us, we took the hint and headed for home.

128 These bare outlines of what we are doing and finding are becoming less and less satisfactory. We know that it's the details that interest the anthropologist, but to record all of same in this would be too long a task. So we will skip over many of our notes on the last ceremony and become
796 impressionistic. At those ceremonies which we have seen so far, there
[171] has been nothing to compare with the amounts of food assembled for Melanesian and Polynesian feasts. Everyone has a good meal and perhaps a little left over, but one pig is made to go a long way. Another thing which has struck us is the monotony of their singsings. There seems to be

796 keen enjoyment but no abandon--in what we have seen. We can see how the steady hour-long sound and movement would prepare the group to go out and spear a few of the out-group; we could feel a little of this ourselves.

796 We were told repeatedly that what we had seen at this ceremony was to
123 be kept to ourselves; we were not to tell our house-monkis or any men who were not initiates. Of course women could not be told either. The younger boys were much impressed by our attendance. They were amused but a little shocked when John told them that the noise of the big gong was only a bullamukau. The savi talks however thought this a good explanation.

796 My 'monki', Gwiyap, also reminded me that I couldn't say anything about
123 the affair to a non-initiate, for the knowledge alone is supposed to cause
183 sickness and death; and then proceeded to outline the whole ceremony for me! He said that when his father was near death, he had told him all about this and other ceremonies and had told him that there was nothing to fear; men, not spirits, ruled this singsing. Another crack in the 'cake of custom'.

114 Our boy, Mar (see Dec. 9, 1936), is now well on the road to recovery. The snake has been 'raused' from his belly he believes, and his strength is slowly returning. He is very much quieter than when we first knew him, although he may be merely making the most of his convalescence to avoid work. We have taken on another lad from Yambon in the meantime, so we will not have to lose our tempers in order to have a good supply of firewood and water.

657 Max Mann, our good friend the young Medical Assistant of Ambunti, came
177 here on the annual medical patrol on the 12th. This was a welcome break for us and for him too. He is not underworked by any means, having about 100 in his "house sick" to look out for and many patrols to make as well. His visit stirred up the people here as it always does, but after waiting

657 177 a half-day, he got a line representing between 80-90% of the recorded population. At Tangwishamp the day before he had had a line of five old men who were not able to go off to the bush and hide with all the rest. One former medical assistant wrote under 'Remarks' in the village book 'it would be much easier herding sheep'.

657 177 164 From his inspection he concluded that the Kwoma are a very healthy group of people. He has given us his tabulated results. The spleen rate in children is rather high (they don't bother with adults), and filarial glands are found in one-third of the population. But framboesia is scarce and tropical ulcers few. Ring-worm is found in about one-sixth. After the inspection was over we dove into a half dozen bottles of beer which Max had brought for us.

657 177 The next morning the dispensary was set up outside our house and treatment was given to those who had seemed to need it in the line the day before. Many more appeared than were called, all wanting the hypodermic injection 606, for framboesia. The fame of this is known to all, but beside its purpose it is expected to clear up any complaint that a person may have. Max was very good and gave over forty injections, handling the people very well. We told him the Hongwam term for hello, good-bye, etc. which he used to our friends great delight.

648 657 On the 12th we saw a pinnace going up the river; the second that has gone up the river since our settling down here. Max told us that this was Assistant District Officer Ellis of Angoram who is going up to the Yellow River to dismantle the new station which is a failure. That means that after the first of the year Ambunti will again hold the title of being the most remote station in the territory--some say in the British Empire, but I doubt that. At any rate it sounds much worse than it really is.

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657 The Yellow River station is being closed because it is a very unhealthy place and the natives are few. And there is another gold rush on over behind Wewak, so all the men that can be spared are needed there.

114 We were much less interested in governmental affairs than in whether the pinnace had brought us mail. When Max left us the next day, he crossed two carriers with a big pile of it for me. Its bulk was due to six weeks daily issues of the Sydney Morning Herald. All of the first week in November's copies were missing, but in the last issue we had, that of Nov. 12th, we found that U.S. stocks had been climbing 'since Roosevelt's election'. Then we sent the natives packing and sat down for an afternoon of finding out what our friends and relations had been doing all summer.

We had been planning to leave here on the 20th to spend Christmas at Ambunti. First, however, we were going to Yambon to spend four days

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[178]
[173] tracing down connections between these people and ours. They traded with them long before the white men came, getting cowrie and sea shells from them as they do today; in myths, the Yambon people are thought to have come up one time with some of our Hongwam; and the Kwoma people hid the Yambons fifteen years or more ago when the government was up here straightening out the village with rifles and fire.

114 The day before yesterday we had a note from Verey, the Police Master at Ambunti, saying the Assistant District Officer Ellis was sending up a pinnace for the four of us to come down to Angoram for Christmas. Ellis is the man who is the boss of the whole river, so we think this is a sufficient call to allow us a few days leave. Thus we will go to Ambunti tomorrow to meet Ellis on his way down and then go to Yambon for the following few days until our transport arrives.

123 114 231 [439] Today was full of excitement for us here. Five men from Yambon have been up here for the last two days trying to capture and buy a large tamed pig, because as they say "no good blut bilong man 'e go down along pig". So our cook boy was requested to bring a shotgun and kill the beast for them. Hamb thought that my .455 English Service revolver would be better so he said "mee go wantime". I was willing although I had shot my small cannon only half dozen times since buying it from Max Mann when we first came up the river.

In the morning we started out for Marok's house on the most easterly spur of these mountains. When we reached *Sombundure*, his house tamberan, we found the men of Yambon sitting there waiting for word to be brought that [435] the pig had come for its morning meal. They showed us what they were paying for the pig: one axe, two 14" cane knives and the rest in shells. The latter consisted of one large polished clam shell, a half-dozen two foot ropes of ¼ inch shell cylinders, a few strings of small cowries and an arm band and headdress of small cowries. The shells have definite values in shillings - and very high ones too. The single clam shell for example being worth 5 marks . In all there was about thirty shillings worth of shell money. "Something nothing" compared to the bride-price John was told.

Finally a monki came running down with word that the pig had come to the house. Hamb and I hastened along the path a few hundred yards to Marok's house. Here we found quite a crowd sitting quietly while a woman fed one of two pigs some sago. I was in a quandry as to which was the one to be shot, and there was such an under-current of excitement that I had trouble finding out. When I was sure, they kept whispering to go ahead and shoot, but the woman still stood close by;and I feared hitting her instead of the pig. Finally she put down the sago and moved off giving us a

123 114 231 broadside shot at not more than thirty feet. I drew a quick aim and fired - the pig, just ahead of Hamb, instead of dropping in its tracks, went bounding off into the bush. This was very bad, for not only would the sale fall through, but the pig might go off and die in the bush. So a chase started then that was to last until after noon. John had come up with his .22 with a crowd of men as soon as they had heard us fire. We all began to scour the bush nearby and to get scoured ourselves by creepers, branches and nettles. The men and boys suddenly all had spears and the hunt was on. We who had guns were called all over the district by people who had just seen the pig. John saw it once and had two shots at it, but the .22 didn't kill it.

When we gathered together again at Marok's house, speculation was
rife as to what had happened. Hamb swore that we both had hit it and that
he had seen the holes the bullets had made. Inasmuch as I found the one
bullet I was able to fire in the ground under the spot where the pig had
stood, I am almost sure that I didn't hit it. Hamb's story was believed by
[778] most everyone. Then it appeared that the pig was *sugiliwas*, and some
supernatural agency had come down into it and given it power to run away.
Marok seemed very proud of what the pig had done and told us that the
pig was his people's (*Wanyi*) totem. Some said that it was *meera*, his
sugiliwas, that was in the beast and wouldn't let it go until night because
it didn't want Marok to sell his pig. We were quite willing to accept any
such explanation for the sake of our reputations as marksmen.

The wear and tear on our clothes and bodies during the morning was terrific. John turned his nose into a yam stick in a headlong fall down a muddy slope, and I got a stitch in my side which made my eyes pop from answering false alarms at the house on top of the mountain. A hairless goat might feel at home in these surroundings, but as yet we can't even bleat.

114 February 11, 1936. Since the last installment, there had been a trip to Yambon where the mosquitoes were plentiful and the heat intense: a long forlorn wait at Ambunti for a pinnace to take us down the river for Christmas, but none came; a trip to Tangwishamp where they told me that the next village had murdered Mr. Eve and all his party, which got me pretty scared; a visit from Bob Overell, a recruiter, who bought five boys here and entertained us for three days with tales of his experiences on the river and elsewhere; and a trip to the Yellow river station by Tip, who will write about it later in this document.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture
133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik river runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a z, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.
[137] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[721] Tangwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is
carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping
vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that
they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little
we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[773] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively
the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals,
fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage
which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter
groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of
the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the
inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated
by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his
deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwam
423 631 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
614 Wanyi, Nayamakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn abd melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs,and various berries are eaten.
224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 826 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed . It is thought
that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 226 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
231 and dogs are domesticated.

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is 584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages). 848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One 847 845 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 583 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

591 611 595 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted 794 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] *minjama* or *yenama*; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an [241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and [534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokwi which [241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important [182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly [154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

775 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time. In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to excort him [764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure [765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

776 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks, waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder, lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not [794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and others we have not.

657 123 177 December 13, 1969,[1] While sitting talking with Max, one of the children came in saying the child Suw was very sick. We went down to see him. His mother was sitting just outside the building, and the other girls were in the house. War, who was sitting on the hill beside the house, greeted us. Kis and Kar were standing around. Kwonai was there. We took Suw's temperature; it was normal. Then we stood looking at him and discussing the case. Max said, "He certainly looks sick." Our faces were rather long. All of a sudden we heard a sobbing and looked up to see War, his head on his knees, and his body shaking with sobs. Suw's mother began to cry a little too. We went and got some medicine, a mixture of dover powders, asperin, and marmite in warm water, then came back and gave it to Suw. He vomited it up immediately and with it some undigested boyna leaves. After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

[1] [i.e., 1936 -analyst]

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
177 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor
had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil.
I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw
with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waremus
were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing
but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse.
When Tip and I arrived, there was again a crowd of women in the house and
[754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that
Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar
went to get some banana leaves for Leatherneck (an old man noted as a
sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leatherneck
took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and
then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to
rouse the poison. Leatherneck gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a
string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat
[152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very
loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected
[571] thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little
attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention,
except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head
down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother
and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of
the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and
passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and
754 went over the rigmarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom
and that if the important men of Hongwam would come to see the boy, he wouldn't
be sick. If they came the sorcery would go away and he would be better
again.

614 The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of
593 the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry,
562 they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are
[591] needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted
[241] here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them,
[423] needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan
to be built when Gwiyap, Mey, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was
[443] better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found
[685] his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to
Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for
the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he
went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's naremboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or
four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them.
Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and
asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that
the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them
in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

114 [123] down and said he was going to sleep. He joined in the conversation about our going, and expressed friendship--would be sorry to see us go--were we coming back?--Maybe! If not send a couple more masters just like us back [521] to take our places. They discussed the buying of sugiliwas, spears, etc., and the possibility of a sing sing. Everyone was very much pleased.

114 648 Mem came from Ambunti with tobacco and a note from Verey saying to come on the day after tomorrow which we decided to do. On our way to bathe, Kumb, Kar, Waf, War, and others were sitting in the police house talking. War stopped and seemed worried. The boys with me told them something. They set off at a run. War stopped and asked what was up. It turned out to be that they were going to see "finish timer" returning from ten years at Madang.

123 231 Mamb came back and told us that the pig had gotten away from them and asked if we would shoot it tomorrow.

December 17, 1936. We set off after breakfast with the revolver,.44, a shot gun and the.22. The Yambons gathered in Sombindura house tamberan. A pig was being called up to the house, and we were to wait. We discussed [435] the price of the pig. At Yambon the price of a pig was laid out for us to see--2 14" cane knives, a small ax, and a bilum (net bag) of tambu (shell money). [One large shell = five shillings; one head band = five shillings (each finger represents a shilling); one head band with three fingers = three shillings; one string of shell cut into washers = five shillings; and three or four strings of small shells worth two to three shillings. About 30 shillings worth of shell.]

A boy came from Marok's saying the pig had come. Tip, Mamb, and a Yambon went while the rest of us stayed.

231 123 114 The chase was more or less every man for himself. There was quite a good deal of shouting. They went down hill first in the direction the pig had taken. Tip and a couple of others tried to track it, but with no success. We came back to the house tamberan, and someone shouted that it had been seen south of us -- half a dozen of us ran there. Abagap and Mem told us to stand in a line in the road; they had grabbed spears from a house that we passed, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's and shouted that the pig was in the other direction and dashed there. I followed Mem going down on a side path. Mem beckoned excitedly, and I came up. There was a pig below us coming toward us. I wanted to wait until it got nearer, but Mem kept telling me to hurry. Then I shot twice with the 22, and felt pretty sure I had hit him the first time. There was much dashing about. Someone began following some tracks that led north. We came upon a house, but there was no time to inquire about it. Then we lost the tracks. There was more shouting; another line formed on the road, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's, rushed out for a couple more false alarms, and returned for lunch.

Marok's explanation is that a sugiliwas must have picked up the pig and is running about with it. This is also Memb's explanation. It seems to me that no one really believed this but used it in the same sort of way that we have of making some excuse for failure. Ghosts are very convenient explanations.

254 648 464 Later Yat came up and said that Suw was all right. Someone had admitted that he had been sold poison and had since relinquished it. Yat and Kar are here now and say that Bob Overall, the recruiter, is coming up to get boys, and they are upset about it. Too many boys have gone away. Wolosak said the same thing earlier in the afternoon; he wanted us to tell Overall not to come. They seemed to want us to forestall him. If

648 Overall came, he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yat and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on
a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young
people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die.
Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbima).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We
saw Kar, Yat, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see
me and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori
long tu felo".

[755] War did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs
[759] were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he
was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been
sorcerised along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of
Wenyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous
of them. War asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that
I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long
time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone
dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced
"fait i kum up nau" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces.
They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 5 minutes beyond
Marok's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene
of action, Ewal, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning
against Mas talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was
trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the
principals; his elder brother Daw was the other. He was standing in front

578 593 of the house holding a large club, talking in a loud voice as was almost everyone else of a group of about a dozen or so which had gathered. Daw's wife was near the center of the group with a digging stick in her hand. She is a strapping, good-looking young woman, and her eyes were shining with anger. Wof, Way, and Waremus, aside from the principals and the women, were doing most of the talking. Kwal went and sat inside the porch after a while; Daw, still trembling, dropped his weapon after a bit and told his wife to go back to her house. The houses are only about 20 feet apart and facing each other. It was rather difficult to find out what the trouble was, but as near as I could make out, Daw had been away all day and had come back to find his betel nut stolen from the tree near his house. This was the culmination of several thefts, and he suspected his brother, and accused him. His wife was evidently the leader in the accusation, for Kwal grabbed a spear and began belaboring her with the handle of it. At this Daw grabbed up a 1 x 5" slab of "limbom" about 4 feet long and cracked Kwal over the scull, breaking the skin and raising a nasty lump. What happened next I don't know, except as I was coming down the hill, I heard someone howling. The difference seemed to be settled, for everyone began to talk of other things. The two sulked while I stayed there about a half hour but joined a little in the conversation. After I had gone, I heard some more rather loud voices, but nothing happened. Mas, who came [123] up afterward, said it had been settled. Kwal visited in the evening, and I put iodine on his cut. Owiyap did not go down. Mas arrived before Mar and I. The people of Tug were also there. The doctor and Wanyemenj and a couple of others sat aside by themselves. Whether the accusation was just or not, I could not tell. I asked if it were usual fow brothers to fight, and he replied that it was the custom of the tribe. The words

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lega kumoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: Kis said that Dag was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel pepers before they were ripe.

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January 17, 1937. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Fit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Fit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. [775] I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring gembas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's narembol came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

000 was well.

527 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a "singsing" rhythm from Wenyabankura
224 today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
574 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills
a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house
tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and
partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin",
which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The
next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his
trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the
only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told
[829] Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with
"Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and
hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore,
he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were
working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar, Gwiyap, Mar,
May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try
to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the
three house boys got a bit nervous, expecially May and Mar. We arrived
at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a
114 123 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
439 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere
near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the
"master belong Rumbimas" (from Rumbima) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite alot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwam were
[024] friendly; Urambanji and Sasaraman were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwam always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
114 police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
648 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
521 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
[023] to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I knew they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(wisepeju -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

114 Tangwishamp had gone with him as far as the market and then had returned.
521 Eve had gone in, bought food, shot a kavisk tree for demonstration
648 purposes, then had sent half his boys to fetch a pig that the Amikis had
killed. While they were thus separated, the Amikis got their guns and then
killed Eve and his boys; took all of Eve's trade, and divided it up.
Then they burned their guns in the funeral pyre. The Tangwishamp said if
I didn't believe it they would show me the fire scorched post in the
[123] house tamberan. They wanted me to get the police and some police boys and
[721] settle the matter. They would go too with their spears to get heads, *birawa*.
I said that I had heard this talk of Eve before, but I had thought it was
not true. They were very insistent that it was, and named about ten
Amikis who had gotten heads at the time. I was still not sure that the
story was true, but it was very convincing.

114 I went and told Hamb who was in the police house at the time with the recruiter's boys; their talk got quite excited. They said that Afokalis was very close, and if they had killed Eve, it must have been in collusion with the Tangwishamps; and if so, what was to prevent them from sending word to Afokalis to come over and kill us. At this point Mar said that he had overheard a couple of Tangwishamps exclaiming about the axes, knives, etc. that we had, saying that they would kill us during the night, and get them for themselves. They planned to kill me and Hamb and Bob's boss boy first and then the other Hongwama would run away and be killed. The boys decided to keep watch.

We built a big fire and sat around it talking and watching. I was very ambivalent about the situation. I felt that, looked at sanely, the whole thing was probably a farce, but at the same time I was quite scared. I decided that it certainly was on the safe side to keep watch. Some of

114 the boys decided that the best thing to do was to pack up and start home at once. It was moonlight, but I decided that would be very foolish. I also thought that if watch was to be kept the most important time to be on guard was just before dawn because most raids take place then. I also knew that this would be the time that the guards would doze off, so I slept, or rather tried to sleep, the first part of the night. About three I got up and kept a look-out the rest of the night. I had a flashlight which I would focus on the surrounding bush at intervals. Sure enough, the boys began to doze off one by one, and for a couple of hours I was the only one awake, except once in a while one or another of the boys would rouse sleepily to replenish the fire. The moon had been shining brightly, but it went down about four o'clock. With it went most of the mosquitos, which had been terrific before. Dawn came and nothing had happened. I began to feel quite foolish for having been so scared. Kar suggested that we go down and look at my *Haramboi's* house. I almost did, but the boys were already packed up and anxious to leave, so we decided against it. We called out for the "savvy talk" who lived nearby and told him we were going and would report the Eve business to the police.

When we got to Urambanj, we asked if the story about Eve was straight. Kar looked embarrassed and said he didn't know. Later Kar talked to him and then he said, "Yes, it is true." We got some coconuts and food there and also some pig.

We got to the foot of the mountain below Dumus and washed in a stream there. It was Mundik's turn to carry the heavy box, but when we told him, he did not answer, but picked up the axes, which he had been carrying before, and went off ahead. Everyone yelled at him to stop, but we went on unheeding. For a while he kept just ahead of us, but then he disappeared altogether.

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about 464 thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Mokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Weyembank came, accompanied by the Tultul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before [593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578 Kar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that 754 Kumb had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

578 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against
754 War and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought
464 all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Mamb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urembenj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Weynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 January 28, 1937. Today Gwiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned
114 home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked
202 Gwiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come
[534] and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun meri" was dying and they were calling her relatives

763 back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty
202 well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren
[603] were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti
mountain.

757 January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

[593] This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did
[752] not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day
[757] before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained
ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

123 January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I
439 paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with
522 it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

114 January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had
123 arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and May this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Sombundura, and
they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at
Rumbima said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement
[171] compared to the Nokwi ceremony./ The beat was similar to the Ndunkwi of
[301] Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went
[302] by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then
Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by May who had
a smoking firebrand in his hand and was belaboring Fit with it. Later
May came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit
names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed May while
he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. May had
[522] scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators
all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there
was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Gwiyap and I
were talking about it, and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said
no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Ham in
522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a
joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that
Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this
brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through
[123] breakfast. I told Marur to bring Ham to me, that I wanted to have
intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Ham, who ran
away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I
said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right.
They laughed heartily at this, and Ham danced around Marur pointing his
finger at him.

838 finger at him. Later I asked Mey if sodomy was [illegible] fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Markam (tribe from which Wisep
[829] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwam understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

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602 Gwiyap, Wisep and Marur went in to the station. Mey just came in with his net bag, (bilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). Mey had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told Mey to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This Mey plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the
[123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

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595 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and Mey said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (Mey had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mas who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Ham had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (Mey told me later that he, Ham,

123 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for
593 this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said
595 nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming
too.

123 I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on
[513] a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by
[252] the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting
his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat
(also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly.
I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little
later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19.
[482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native
spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box
[521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was
of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was
[522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that
struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals
and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War
sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked
at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while,
[524] and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and
Kwos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now
sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her
[152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked
away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts
[522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily
at her embarrassment.

123 at her embarrassment. I asked where Suw was, and they said that he was [322] asleep. I saw a partly finished sugilavas (carved figure) roughly [412] blocked out from a chunk of wood. All the work so far had been done with an adze. He had two--one with a bit about 3/4 inch wide and another 1½ inches. The finishing touches are done with a knife.

855 Suw woke up and came out and crawled into his mother's lap. I came back 123 into the porch and Suw was a little frightened and clung to his mother, held one of her breasts with one hand and put his head between her breasts. I playfully hit Ham on the tail with my walking stick, and Suw began to whimper. His mother held him close to her and soothed him and then laughingly explained to me that he was afraid because I had hit Ham. The ball rolled over to Suw and his mother, and she picked it up and handed it to him to throw which he did. Later it rolled over to the other side of the house, and the kids told Suw to go and get it. His mother spoke softly to him pointing toward the ball and urging him on with a little shove. He looked at it for a while and then turned back to his mother with his finger in his mouth and cuddled up to her.

262 Then it was time to eat. Ham brought War three pieces of rolled 123 boiled sago and a half dozen roast sugar cane sprouts. His wife then asked me if I would like a sago fritter. I said yes, so she tore off a piece and wrapped it around a roast sugar cane heart and gave it to Ham who brought it to me. It was quite good, the fritter rather rubbery, but the roast heart of sugar cane excellent.

593 I went back to Wof's. He was still in a dour mood and so was his wife; he snapped at May and at Gwiyap's little sister for not making the sago properly. Wof's wife sent May for the chop sticks to make the sago.

593 [353] 123 There were several stored in the thatch. Twice Mey took down the wrong ones and she was very cross with him. Mey did not answer but looked sullenly resentful. Kum was standing just outside the house looking down the path. After a while he came up near me, and I took him in my lap. He looked at me very intently saying nothing. His eyes were steady and unwavering. One finger was in the corner of his mouth. As I came up he stood near me for a moment and put his finger on my fly.

132 Someone yelled down the mountain. We all listened. The shouting was that rain was coming. I looked over the plain toward the sea and saw there was a big storm coming. For some reason this seemed to upset Wof and his wife.

578 A few moments later I saw Kaya looking down the path with a look of intense hatred. Her brows were contracted, her mouth pursed tightly, and her eyes looked unwaveringly. I wondered what it was and looked around and saw Chinuwa approaching. She came up slowly with a large net bag of money which she started to unload. No one greeted her. Her presence was absolutely ignored, and Wof was glowering at the ground. Wof cursed and slapped savagely at a fly which lit on his leg. I felt rather uncomfortable because the situation was so intense. After a few minutes I left. Mey came with me, and when I got to the house, I asked what the matter was. It seems that Wof had found some of his food broken into and some of it taken. He asked Kaya if she knew anything about it and she said she didn't. Then he asked Chinuwa if she knew, and she would not answer, so he suspected her of stealing it and carrying it to another man for the purpose of sorcery. Almost as soon as I left, Wof's voice came up loudly. Mey said he was trying to find out whom she had taken the food to,

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked Mey if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 Then he told me of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife.
595 He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and
754 after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not
to kill her. According to Mey, this often happened in the case of the
no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerise
him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not
marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Mamb, went up and greeted Mamb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tried to pump Mey, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I
[854] stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with
an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in
the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was
[231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let
the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the
figures belonged to Yenmma or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me
with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation
with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar
has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[224] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
[439] pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter
rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there
had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up
his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbima house tamberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"! Marur did not
question me.

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to,
but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the
story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to
have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious
on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had
answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

648 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out
464 for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela
man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day
had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob
left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something
nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big meri"
(woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently
rankled strongly.

123 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday
574 and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more
food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not,
and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I
had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain
in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was
sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was
standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain,
pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection.
[834] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an aspirin
[372] tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts.
The house was full of smoke.

[286] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making
[361] a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses
[252] almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and
he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the
next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May
also spit and mumbled.

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Ham came
and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we
had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was
on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the
123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the
241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It
was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later
War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya
and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling
up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way
an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree
limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom.
Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another
section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here
and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole
garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat
[857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis
[252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for me--they gathered
[264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate
[262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until
1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared
previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and
[461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and
chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again.
He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother,
356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house,
it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

356 with a digging stick. War's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[857] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ nothing. I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to Mey, the argument between Wof and Chinuwa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved becuase it will grow in strong afterward). Mey was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

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593 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Hayamakwo men and Mes' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

578 Kumb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

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231 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof talking. It seemed Marok and Chinuwa had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awonbaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awonbaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunge (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the "sac sac" (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

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[483] In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the garden by the side of the road toward Wenyabumkura. A log was cut to the desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

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534 first beaten to make it pliable. The helpers then tied on the tow line
[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip".
The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used
as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side
hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat,
Pwisambi, and War did the most work. The job took about three hours from
[262] when it was finished; the workers were paid with boiled sago and roast
[465] pig which Yat's wife had prepared.

342 February 14, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Marok set up the centre post for
335 an extension of his house. He used the same method to move the post as
[483] with a garamut (gong) except that when level ground was reached, the post
was carried on the workers' shoulders. Yat, Kar, Mar., Mos, and Owiyap
helped. Kar was slightly annoyed at the lack of manpower in the sib.

The post was for an extension in his new house. The hole for it
had been partly dug already, having been carefully put in line with the
ridge-pole by extending a bamboo and sticking another upright against it.
[804] The butt of the pole was shaved down a bit so that its diameter did not
vary for the distance it was to be underground, and its diameter was
measured by wrapping a bamboo splint abound it and breaking it at the point
of overlap. The hole was widened with this as measure to allow ample
space for the pole. Meanwhile Kar was making the kwata mbonka (the joint
between post and ridge-pole). To do this the required length of the post
was determined by marking on a bamboo the didtance between the bottom of the
hole and the extension pole. This was marked off on the post, and it was
nicked to mark it. It was then cut with an axe-shaped wedge. The faces of
the wedge were then concaved with an adze to make a cradle for the ridge
pole. This is to keep the wind from blowing it off.

437 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of Na yano. The house boys did not know
what it meant. Hey ran down so ask Wof who said that they were beating
a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilawas (carved wooden figures).
A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped
at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong
fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the
"tunket" for exchange of sugilawas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs
play the dance rhythm. Nas and Gwiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp
and Hongwam would take place at Ndoway house tamberan at Wambenj. (This
morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been,
there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody
would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
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114 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
302 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
123 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
457 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps
were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwam wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided
they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prises were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the
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435 Tengwishamps asked exorbitant prices for betal pepper. (Namb had tried to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinuwa answered him from down below in Wof's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Gwiyap and May who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Yes in maus shit nuting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Wayakola's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by War and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put
787 out in the agayin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out that all the wives--Gwiyap's sisters and Hwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinuwa and Gwiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. May, Mar, Gwiyap, Mes, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinuwa and Ugangaye who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinuwa and Ugangaye and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Namb appeared and

787 turned his flashlight on her. They told Namb to turn off the light, and then they all (Mar , Chimuwa and Ugangaya) wrenched the stick away from her, dragging her around the floor to do it. After they had gotten it away, she remained lying on the floor and was lifted onto a sago bark bed where she was left. She did not move and was no longer held. Then Marok squatted beside her and began talking to her very quietly and sympathetically asking her what was the matter. She said she was asleep and possessed by a ghost. Marok asked her who the ghost was but got no answer. Then he began listing the possibilities. "Was it so and so, or such and such, or the other?" He got no response. For a long time he got nomas ; the mosquitoes were eating me up, so I left.

This morning they told me (Mar and Gwiyap) that in the evening they had all been at Wof's (Ugangai, Awambaka, Ewiya, Chimuwa, Wof and his wife). [276] Awambaka had been chewing betel, and all of a sudden the ghost had taken possession of her. She had shut her eyes, grabbed a stick and began playing about with it. Chimuwa and Ugangai had caught her and held her. Wof had told them to carry her to Mar's house. This they did. I had arrived soon after.

The ghost who had taken possession of her turned out to have been Marok's older brother (deceased). His message was that he was cross at Marok and Mar for cutting his sago. (Mar said that they would not cut it any more.) The general tone of Marok's pumping her was her answering yes [123] or no to his suggestions. The ghost also said he was cross at Wof and May, and when I was there, my house was mentioned.

534 February 22, 1937. Mar was down by the house tamberan bilasing Yat's gong. 323 Mar was working bunbank and cutting grass by the house tamberan, and Marok was making large pots for his new house. Yat visited in the afternoon.

223 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this
531 afternoon and did card tricks for Kwiya and Awa. Their reaction was to
123 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and fore-
201 finger and bite the lower lip. Chinuwa came down afterward--she had the
same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Kwiyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the marsalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 February 26, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to
578 Wonuma, War's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married
a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill
578 the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife
in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerize him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

578 been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed
[123] up with the place here and will go with me/when I go. He says he does not
feel like working.

527 Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what
262 they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to
[754] discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mas and
[692] Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon
[252] they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they
had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and
[415] were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold
[252] it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When
the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and
boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with
[123] the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the
soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he
[123] and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I
helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me
to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach
was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about
754 fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed
that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngayamas (a big man of Afokalisa)
got up and began talking in a loud voice. ''Sowimambi's wife had been
poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sownambi's (kinship term) and I will fight
anyone who is doing it.'' He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground
[123] and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before
the white man (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a
spear.

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of those sibs. Wof and Way,
and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there.
The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him
before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time
I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's.
War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
[754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back
and stopped in at War's. Gwiyep and Mar did not want me to leave. A
[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[593] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back,
[628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had
not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't
648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police
had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind
for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other
day and found that Bwiyampa and Dowari and Mawendaya had broken it and

224 made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and
[578] accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and
[648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is
going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungawi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields.
Mawandaya has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old
Haysmakwo house tamberan near Wanyabunkura. They have built a new little
one and call it Cumbwinembara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take
Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears
627 stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group
from Sombundura and Way came by covered from head to foot with mud. They
had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so
that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late
in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was
that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems
to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics
and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen
some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making
accusations.

439 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Kwal was
241 cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, May, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas
helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed
so I continued to Masa's; on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out
shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

114 near War's. He was building a bannis (trap) to shoot a pig; he followed
[224] us around while we were shooting. We got a hornbill -- Mar and Mes cut it
up. Apokwiyampa took part home and ate it with Pokodaya. Then toward
evening they both came back to sleep with us. The mosquitoes were terrific.
We sat about talking for a while and then decided to get the flutes which
were at Mar's . We played the flutes for a couple of hours. Apokwiyampa
was teaching Mar and Mes. He was very patient with them. He would sing
out the tune for them, and then they would try it. Finally we built a
fire under the bed and slept. Mar and Mes slept on one, Poka and Apokwiyampa
on the other. This morning Pokadaya left early. Mar, Mes and I had
breakfast and then went to look at Apokwiyampa's trap. Then we went back
to the house. Mes took a short trip and came back with a bunch of
bananas. They were Latai's, but since Mes is his nephew, it is all right.
We cooked and ate some. He gave the rest to me but asked me to pay Latai.
Awambaka and Apinokw came to help carry my bed back, and we returned.
Poketaya and Apok came too. War is taking out yams.

Yamengamp came to get some water with a lantern. He went back to
[754] Wisep's house and called out to me that he saw a man running down the
road to the house tamberan. He yelled to Mar and May. They went down to
the house tamberan to find Wof, Marok et al, there. They came out and
claimed to see his tracks going down past Marok's house. They thought he
was someone coming to hear them talk of poison. Yamai was looking out
for poison. (Namb and Mar are away, and he is jumpy - he stayed awake all
last night.) May explained that all the big men walk about at night.
They were not afraid of a man's bone.

323 March 7, 1937. Marok fired his pots this afternoon. Two men came from
754 Wenyebenkura this evening. They were making the rounds of Hongwam, getting
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754 755 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this, the sick person will recover.

593 [311] March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He held one spear poised in his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind. [231] [431] He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to do with Asanampa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was. War told him to give him some "tambu" too, which he did, and War returned. War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--Bar, Kumb, Mes, May, Gwiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two were put on in other directions and all four tied.

000 March 12, 1937. Hayamakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking ground. Kar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Fit has returned. May says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother pelo man". Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 578 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from Wanyambunkura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mweni. They had spears. Say came to Yat's and told him that the result of the talk of the day was that since there were no Hayamakwo present, it was they who were responsible for poison. Yat grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on Mowsoy to fight, but Mowsoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

754 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house tamberan, so I
578 went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Hayamakwo, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing
[648] Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Hayamakwos had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and May. Chinuwa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awa giggling protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Gwiyap. Awa and Kwiya were there. Gwiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Gwiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Gwiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), War, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Wayakola went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinuwa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

231 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died becuase someone had tried to poison both Mar and
Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong
to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just
[766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had
[262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If
Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 *March 26, 1937*. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and
caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing
it, but Sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and Mey and Awambaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on Mey's
wife to be.

578 *April 2, 1937*. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting
[602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his *mem* (mother's brother). It is also
War's *mem* and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants
reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect
right to the sago since his *mem* told him he could cut it. He has decided that
what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of
obligation to pay *mem* at *hanf sugwiya*. He is afraid that if he does not pay
War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He
thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark
from me which he considers to be enough.

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752 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit. About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Gwiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

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[628] May, Afalowenj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan. There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwams were helping to carry their cargo.

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[601] April 3, 1937. If Gwiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the relationship. He will no longer call them men but use their name. His daughter, Mama, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

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[251] Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Gwiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578
602 Gwiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Gwiyap paid the shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Gwiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Gwiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

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476 April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and
[501] fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about
[252] 1:00. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Kwiya boiled sago, and War had his family make soup. This was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness.
[156] The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I
[262] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his presitge. The first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gouria pigeon
[123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a
[262] tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it
[127] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the
[262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked.
[521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed,
[276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was
[522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marok, Mar and May. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinuwa, Kwiya, Famba, Yawa, and Dew went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

761 534 [764] A man of Duwus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery, although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tamberans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbima gongs.

824 Kwiya had brought back the roots of wank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 578 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka. There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Kwiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Gwiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Gwiyap's belt by playing with it. Gwiyap, Kwiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Gwiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite a half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Memsoy came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their boxes and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahak who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Memsoy beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide. so he did not get his pay.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

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628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. [648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the woman or bring the police to shoot the place up.

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883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

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313 Mar and Mes worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

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123 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 Wof and War went to Duwus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is
[593]
[262] a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

533 Nemb and Yam began playing flutes after dark. May and Way were here. As soon as they started, Way spoke sharply to May and told him to come. They left for home.

114 April 11, 1937. I returned from the trip to Ambunti. Kar is still away at the bush house. The gongs were beaten at Wenya similar to the poison beatings.
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[533] It turned out that someone had come back from the bush and found his house had been broken into, and he was making a fuss about it. Kwalump, Salakawa, Amba, and War came up. Kwal told me that they had had a watokolai about the house breaking--nothing eventuated.

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685 After supper I talked about Way, who, the day I left, had stolen a knife, a "lap lap," and a big tin. I said that if he brought it back, it would be all right but that if he did not, I would take the case to court. They all agreed to the justice of this and for fifteen or twenty minutes talked over the question. "This is the behavior of a child, not a man. Punch him in the nose; don't be afraid of him." Then May repeated the evidence against him. He
[648] had seen Way with the knife in his hand just before it disappeared. Then incidents were recounted of a previous theft of Way's; he had stolen a knife from the patrol officer when he was here, and the police boys had beaten him up. There was laughter and then talk of the time when the Germans owned territory, and Way was carrying cargo. He got tired and said he wanted to defecate. The police boy said that if that was the case to do it where he was. Way had tried to run away, and the police boy beat him up. This was told with great relish by Yat and Kwal and was followed by much laughter. The final indictment was that Way was not a man but a ghost (gamba).

May just came in saying that Wof was sorry that Way had stolen the long knife. "Way, im i no monki belong yu im i big felo man. im i no bilong nuther felo bennis, belong Rumbiman dasal--fashion no good." (Way is not your child.

123 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs
685 to Rumbima--its bad business.)

224 Noel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had
752 tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There
578 were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Gwiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss
271 worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala
685 affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "calaboose" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. May said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Yalangu affair. It

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [372] [136] [578] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 476 April 13, 1937. Afok and Fokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chinuwa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mes is now our shoot boy, as Namb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mes realized that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Gwiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all fight. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Namb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--
524 while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an
522 abnormally long penis. Mes and a couple of kids inside began joking about
831
838 it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Fokotay, Daw, Yatsminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mes decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mes offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it''Rumbima calling with a new gong--do you hear me'' and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss
685 about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. War called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. War said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[564] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seemed to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
[754] cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[593] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Mamb and Mamaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be

123 some sort of fearful retaliation. I can't quite sense it. It comes to
156 consciousness in a feeling that I won't be liked, and I have an over-
[626] whelming desire to be liked by everyone. This sanction of the mores by
direct physical punishment is also quite foreign to me in a cultural
sense, and it is very difficult for me to accept it in this as well as
the unconscious psychological sense. This is a point on personality and
culture or the personality of culture.

123 I sat around at the house tamberan for a while. Wof came down. Mar,
726 Mes, Owiyap and Mey were there. War began talking to Mes in a low tone.
He said something about my musket and Yelagu. I guessed what it was, and later Owiyap told me that War was suggesting that Mey get the musket and go with him and wipe out the Yelagu people. Mes and Mar reacted to this by getting very excited and dancing up and down in the house tamberan. In the middle of this talk Chinuwa called out that there was somebody in my house stealing something. The house boys and I ran up, but it turned out to be a dog and Chinuwa's imagination. I told Owiyap and Mar that this musket business could not be, for word would get to the police about it, and I would be hanged along with the rest of them. If War wanted to shoot them with a spear, it was his business.

126 April 14, 1937. This morning Yafomongwia, Kwalump, Ambe, Evelas, and
721 War came up ornamented, and I took a picture. Kwalump and Kwonai asked me
726 whether I would tell the police if they went on a head-hunting raid. I
[123] told them no, that it was their business. Mey told me that the time was
set for tomorrow morning, that they were making soup now. Men were going by the house all morning to pull Marok's canoe. In the afternoon they came back and feasted at Rumbima. Awa visited in the afternoon, and I got some information from him. He said he did not want to eat with the others

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
[302] until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
[301] raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
[524] answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
[123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mes told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Mugitama
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian government, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiop mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olataim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind weaning the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mes both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

726 As the occupants of the house rushed out, he would spear them. Those who
[411] escaped his spear would rush into the spears of the men surrounding the
[714] house. (They all would carry three spears and shields and be ornamented.) Then,
if the alarm had not been spread, they would go to another house and continue
until all the people belonging to this house tamberan were either killed or
[727] had fled. Then they would burn the house tamberan and leave. Only heads of
the handsome adult men would be taken (Yambons take all heads.) The Soval
Urambanje of the other house tamberans would not help but would run away as
soon as the alarm was given.

April 15, 1937. The raiders have not started. They fear treachery because no
one came from Tangwishamp. They have all gone to Wenya to talk things over.
Mar came back with the news that the raid was all off--that a man had come
from Tangwishamp saying that the water had gone down so that the creek
which they had planned to use was closed up. They will go later when the
[648] road is passable. I asked him if he thought that one reason why they gave
it up was fear that the thought of hanging played a part in their putting off
the raid. The reactions of Mar and Mas yesterday suggest it did.

124 Tofokaman came to visit this morning and has hung around all day. His wife is visiting at Wof's and Mar's. His wife is Mar's sister. Sof and another young man, ("Dr. boy") came and sat around for a while. "Dr. boy" brought up the subject of my losing things and said that the lads were innocent add that he had seen Marok with my tobacco. After lunch they went down to Rumbiman house tamberan. Mar came in and told me that he had made an arrangement with Mbwimbi and Gwanta, to get Mas's sister Uka down to a certain place to catch fish. Mar is to meet them there and take Uka to his garden house. He will come back in the late afternoon. He asked me not co tell Mas, and to protect him

124 against War if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gwiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gwiyap, Fit, Afi, and May would set Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [752] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gwiyap 123 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 431 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 437 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are 276 either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. [262] It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

000 is sold to me. When the Tangwishamp bring fayombi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 War, Waramus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinanbi's for sunga kafasamani (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Gwiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Fit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Gwiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Gwiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Gwiyap heard that Gawwi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urembanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Gwiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urembanj.

752 Kwos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned oever to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told
you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and
[562] Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga
made a remark that I was too big a man (harapa ma mayaka) to be coming into
a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and
then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbima were there. The
123 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of
726 excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader.
Mas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on
Sawa Uwembanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups.
They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun.
Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about
food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. May said he
had been that way ever since sunga mweni at Sow's.

584 Owiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like
754 Malu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true"-- even if you stared at a woman
on the road, she would be likely to call her relatives and they would make poison
against you.

584 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days --
583 the arrangement was that Mas would get Owanta in exchange. Yataminj, Kar,
Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Dawa and Afa would get Uka's.

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first with nettles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Fit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Dew put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't
123 he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt. I told Gwiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke im nose." When May came back he greeted me, saying, "sin" (hello). I did not return the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Kwos and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three o'clock and called to Kwos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Gwiyap to send him, becuase he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing sago and took him down with her.

I went down to Mar's with Gwiyap. Kwiya, Awa, Afi, and Yewaf were there. I told Gwiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Gwiyap said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they did. After they had gone, Gwiyap was afraid they could not carry the

124 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes and sat down at Mar's. Ewiya and Awa were there ahead of us; the others had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awa who could 123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they were kafwasak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on [514] again. Later Awa urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels. Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there. 262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. May was evidently anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at 123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing 231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of 431 sobbing. May was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Ngusaruka) who is married [648] there. Her father was Ukwiyim. Her brother was killed by the police boys.

583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Wey's daughters had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chinuwa took it, saying it was better so. Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with Wey's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said _maski_ (nevermind). When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also said that Yatامinj, Kar, Kis, Wof _et al_. were his fathers. He had talked to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamboran with it (evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Gwiyap just came in without his "lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the women did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
835 Uka, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very much ashamed.

252 __April 18, 1937.__ Way suggested the elopment be postponed. Masok was going
[583] to Koriasi with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. May came

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mes had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mes and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mes has given up the work.

191 The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke,
[522] and everyone is amused.

752 Kwos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to
123 come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down
there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right
cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the
eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 Mes and Gwiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other
123 friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came
439 bringing firewood for me -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my
576 language)was his greeting fof Gwiyap.

436 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and
437 Wof went, carrying pig and two net bags of yams contributed by Marok.
Gwiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of
shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is
a "mouki nothing".

593 Since Ngusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbima because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

593 [262] would be made at her brother's house. Tomorrow soup will be made of the pig and yams at Koriasi, and everyone will eat it.

202 574 The gong was beaten at Afokayisa. Mar asked me to be unquiet, even though I wasn't making any noise -- and listened attentively and finally ran out and shouted kwoyemb na me yato (who is coming)? There was shouting all about the place for about a minute, when everyone seemed to have gathered the news. Mar came in and told me that Yenakwot from Nawi Tuk (Yessan) had come to Latai's, and this was a call for all who were interested to come and see him. I asked Mar if he was going, and he said 'I think" and then 'No, I guess not'/ The gong had announced that someone had come and issued invitations to come, but hadn't told the man's name, or rather Mar did not know the signal for the name.

123 Mes came back with a gouria pigeon and a small pig -- less than half grown, that he had shot. I scalded, scraped and drew it, gave bits to various of the natives who were standing around. Afok was leaving, and I gave him a fore-quarter.

000 Soon after Afok left my house, a gong sounded. It was answered from Tug. Then shouting started which kept up until after dark or at least for a couple of hours.

593 It seems that Sof was angry with his wife because he suspected her of adultery or something, and hit her over the head with an axe. She ran away to her father this morning; Sof came and dragged her back this afternoon just before Afok came back. Fokatay is at his bush house. Afok shouted, "You have worked for the white man and have strong bones. You think I am a child, but you come and try me. If you had paid for the girl, there might be some excuse for it. I would have nothing to say. But you haven't." Sof evidently answered in kind, but so far nothing has happened beyond the talk.

578 Yevalas came by and reported that last night there was some sort of fight at Sumwe'Sumwe. They were vague about it, but the upshot of it is that somebody burned someone else's house. Gwiyap shook his head and said he thought there would be trouble.

829 Gwiyap and Mes just voiced their disgust at the Yembon because they
787 defecated close to the house. Mar dreamed last night that "masta BobBie" came and brought plenty of "lap laps," singlets, etc. and gave them to him.

Gwiyap napped this afternoon and dreamed something about Mes and woke up calling to him.

533 April 19, 1937. Last night after I had gone to bed (about 9:30), the
202 Tangwishamps began beating their gongs. First there was a message on a
825 big gong, and then the rhythm was carried out on all the gongs: kuratum
789 kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kura kura kura. Soon afterward, this was repeated at Sombundura, and then at Afokolis. Then Kaya called out to Gwiyap, who ran down to Rumbima, and Yat, Way, and Gwiyap repeated the message. They were sending it to Wasamanj, a sugilawas (carved wooden figure) in the form of a crocodile, who lives in the sago swamp on the road between here and Tangwishamp. Wasamanj was responsible for sending the mosquitoes which had come up in a great swarm in the evening. There was such a swarm outside my net that their humming seemed almost deafening; everyone was restless and slapping and shouting. It is believed that the mosquitoes live in the belly of this marsalai and that Wasamanj is responsible for sending or letting them out. The gong message was sent out in the form of a threat, and not as a prayer. The pleasure of running down and playing on the gongs, as well as the irritation against the mosquitoes, definitely entered into the stimulus for the action. Wasamanj is a sugilawas of the Wanyi people.

000 501 Yatakampa and some other kids came up from Afokolis with food. Mas and Mar went to work on the canoe despite War's forbidding them to yesterday. Mas said he was not going to wait until all the men came and helped him, then they could claim a share after he and Mar had done all the work. Mar hung back a bit, but finally agreed to Mas' persuasion.

123 I told May and Gwiyap the story of Othello, and they were very much interested and much incensed at Iago. In the afternoon, after I had forgotten about telling them, May came up and said that if my cook boy "gayman along mi ol saim" (lied to me), I was not to hear him. Gwiyap seconded the motion. They were both quite serious and worried.

In the afternoon, War came from Afokolis with Tanakwot and four others from Yessan -- they came to see me, they said. They were very proud to [124] show them that I was able to "talk place" (speak Kwoma). I got some information from them -- the language was quite different -- the conversation was mainly in Hongwam. Two youths from Wanyi came with food. The Afokalis explained to the youths who they were -- father, mother, etc. Then they placed Gwiyap; his father was Siyowa who is now dead. Then the Wanyi said that he was their yuwa and Afokalis said yes he is yuwa to Wanyi.

After they left, I was sitting in the cook house with Gwiyap. It 513 was raining and cold. I asked him if he would like to sleep by a woman to keep warm. He looked at me in surprise and said "No, I would have shame if I did this!" I asked, "Why would you be ashamed?" and he replied, "It would be very bad because the big men like War would be cross with me. [593] It's their duty to look out for me and my wives and sisters." I asked, "Suppose you're married?" Gwiyap said, "Then it would be my business, but I would still be ashamed." Mar said that a man never slept with his

513 593 [833] wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep by themselves.

262 584 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Gwiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 685 754 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely samuto meani (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister. "Big fela more" --they had carried Hey's pig and Masok's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouria pigeon to make soup to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that 114 he was my laka (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

000 gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

123 April 20, 1937. Mar came up with Kis from his house this morning (he had been up before and gone back), and the two of them said they wanted some of the strong medicine I gave Mar when he had poison. Mar said he had a pain in his stomach. I was busy for the moment. Later I got 2 empirin [754] tablets--Kis took one but Mar said he didn't want his. Mar told me afterwards that Kis was beginning to think that the sore on his leg was due to poison.

241 Ewiya has gone to her mother's. She left when the group went to Koriasi. Her mother sent word that she needed help gathering the brush from her husband's garden.

584 I asked Mar this afternoon about Aya. He said that Way had forbidden the arrangements--that he was afraid War would make poison. War did not like the idea of the match. The affair had come up before (I reported it several months ago). Mar had asked Mas about it, and he had said "no got". He (Mas) had told his father about it, and this had been the time when they had shouted back and forth. I asked him why War had prevented him, and he said he did not know. 'Nevermind Aya; I'll catch another wife somewhere.' There is one at Koriasi whom he "marked" a couple of months ago and spoke to her father about. He was sort of resigned and whining about the affair--shook his head and sighed.

581 Then Mar complained about Yowa--she was lazy, didn't have strong bones. Firewood "lik lik im brok im". If she goes to break sago, she buts a little tree. A big one would take her until after dark. I asked him if he had had intercourse with her yet. He said no. If she was a good wife, it would be all right. He would have long ago had she been the same as Aya, but since she was no good, he wouldn't; and then he wouldn't have to pay for her. He said he might never have intercourse with her until she died. She had

581 been married to a man from Tuk. She had been lazy, and he had namoed (beaten) her, and she had left him. Her father had died, and Afok was looking out for her. She stopped there for a while and then said she wanted to marry Mar and promised Afok that she would not be lazy, so he had brought her to Mar. She had been with him a long time (3 years).

123 524 Kum was playing this afternoon with Mey and began tapping him on the leg. I told him to hit hard. He did. Mey slapped him back with a newspaper, then challenged him to hit him again. I told him to (also), but he raised his hand and only brought it half way down, not striking him. He repeated this a couple of times and then began to kick him. Mey paid no attention, and the play stopped.

124 819 I tried to get the real ages of Kwiyokai, Awa, Gwiyap, Mar, etc. They did not know except that Awa was older than Kwiyakay; Gwiyap was older than Mey. Mey says he was the same age as Kum is now at the time of the police raid which would make him 12 or 13, and Gwiyap 14 or 15. Mar says he was the same as Mey when Awa was born, but I doubt it. This would make him 22; I think he is nearer 18.

Revision

Gwiyap just went dwon and asked Yawa. She said that Kaiuskai was older than he, that she was the same age as Mey who is also older than Gwiyap. This is surprising, for Gwiyap is not only larger but has a few sprouts of hair, whereas Mey has none. I asked them the reason for this, and they explained it was because Mey was afraid of scraping himself with nettles. I wonder if "Grilly" (Wof) has anything to do with it. Awa is the same age as Gwiyap, but is larger than he.

The situation at the time of the raid was this: Mey was 5, Gwiyap and Kamakan were 4--Mar and Fit were six. Therefore, their ages now are: Mey 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mes is the same age as Mar.

000 May 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mas is the same age as Mar.

Afok came up, said that the talk has died over Sof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunda (Wanka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Pwisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was
685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wog's
587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the
684 white man and died there --Awa, also of Sumwe Sumwe married his widow through
578 the operation of the /levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife
582 of Hayamatamp, Wajumbei, who is now working at Bulolo. This is a double
breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being
married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister→younger
sister). Woyafoka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He
called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wog's house late at night and set fire to it. Wog did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tangwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoka and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife has died.

578 Gwiyap said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marok and Koopyup came asking for theirs.

114 Watakaup came in the afternoon with an invitation to come to Ambunti. I think I'll go.

April 22, 1937.. It was raining this morning, so I decided not to go to Ambunti but sent Mar and Mes to get kerosene, flour, etc. I went down to
[286] War's to look at his house. The whole family was at home. The women were sewing net bags, as well as War who was sewing a bag. Kis was working a wafa ngasa from afosamp bone. Kar was lying on a bed sick.

I went up to the house tamberan to get its construction. Way was shaping the outside of a gong, but the mosquitoes drove me home. I sent
836 Gwiyap and May to wash clothes. Gwiyap came back full of excitement about Gwanta. He had seen her on the way, and she let it be known she wanted to have intercourse with him. He bribed Gwanta with 2 razors, one for him and one for her, to come and tell him when she next went down to get water so he could meet her there. He said he was going to ask her to come and sleep
[593] with him at Wisep's house in his "klambu". She had suggested it the other night but her father had forbade her.

This afternoon he put on Mar's singlets and a brand new orange "lap lap" and went down the hill. He stayed all afternoon. Tonight he said he had called at Way's house. Gwanta and her mother were there--they sat and talked. She was sitting on the bed, and he asked her if there were plenty of "nats nats." She said yes. Then he told her if they bothered her too much to come up and sleep in his mosquito net. She said she would. Gwamb who was also there, said he would come too, but Gwanta said no--how many people do you think the net will hold. Mar remarked that she did not call him by his name and that she told him not to go with me but to stay.

126
000 I spent the afternoon drawing the house tamberan. Way, Yat, Kis and War were sitting in the Police House, War working a ngasa from limbon. Kis was working on Kar's ngasa. At about 3:30, Way got up and worked on his gong. War came over and discussed it with him. Wof visited me--Yat went to Marok's and the two went to Sombundura. Fokotay and Afok came up just before sunset.

123 This morning Kum was in the "kai kai" room while I was working--he asked me for a cigarette butt. I told him he was karagarda yikafa; he was preoccupied for a moment and then, still preoccupied, kicked me and then turned to other things. For the last couple of days he has come up to me and pulled my arm about--I have resisted him a little, and he has gritted his teeth and yanked and seemed to get great pleasure from moving it.

836 Gwiyap just came back from the house tamberan at 8 p.m. I asked him if he thought Gwanta would come up--he said he didn't know. He was not as excited tonight as he was this afternoon; I feel he doesn't believe she'll come.

754
584 Then he said he wanted to make poison against Way and that he wanted to marry Gwanta. I remarked she was his mowa. He said nevermind, she was mowa="nothing" (sumba sumba mowa--real sister is mowa sakana).

April 23, 1937. Gwiyap has gone down to Yat's, so he says, obviously to
754 get a glimpse of Gwanta. She did not come last night. War, May and a group from Wanyi went by with spears to a sorcery court at Sowinanbi's. His wife is still sick.

863 Kaya just scolded Kum for defecating close to the house. "You clean it up; if you do it again I'll spank you." Now he has run away. Kaya is calling and looking for him and has sent May in search for him. Chinuwa and Wof have gone to scrape sago, and Kaya is staying at the house. Gwiyap and May searched in vain but came back after a short while.

754 May and War came back from Sowinambi's reporting that his wife was sicker than ever, that nothing had happened except that Tangwishamp did not come up to talk at the meetings and so were suspected.

Bwal and Kis stopped in and sat on my porch. I overheard them talking. Kis said his sore was due to poison, and he was sambo to all men now--the present company and his own brothers (only) excepted. Even Wof and Marok were under suspicion, and he was taboo to them also.

797 I came out and Bwal and Kis began talking about missions saying that they betrayed the house tamberan by showing figures (sugilawas) to the women, and if the mission ever came to Hongwam, they would take their women and leave.

114 Mar and Mas had come back at noon. They had not slept at the station but at Mas' house. They brought butter, flour, four tins of meat, four of vegetables, no sugar or tobacco, or any news of Bob Overell.

123
685 Yat and Kar came up in the evening, and I began to talk about a tin of meat which had been stolen yesterday afternoon. Suspects: Kis, who was in the bedroom dressing his sore; Wof, who was at the house when I left May in charge yesterday afternoon; and Yat, who had gone by yesterday afternoon, and also because Owiyap saw a tin of meat at his house. Yat did not have much to say, whereas the others harangued about their innocence, saying that they considered tinned meat to be human flesh and would not eat it (which was not true). They said it was not good to eat, and that they would give me all the sago I wanted if I liked it, etc. May first accused Kis, but War exonerated him, saying that he would have seen the tin if Kis had taken it. Wof was called on next, and he came up protesting vigorously. He said he was a big man and would not steal. War and Kar gave good alibis. Yat and Marok said they had gone right by the house to Sombundura and had come back after I had returned.

Chapter III

Case History- MAR

* 115 Mar is a tall and gangling lad of about 18 or 19 with a heavy moronic face. He gives the impression of not being very bright. He lives with his brothers and sisters in the house nearest mine while his mother lives in another a few feet away. She is an old woman, crippled so that she cannot walk, but with a keen awareness of what is going on and a sharp [583] tongue. With her lives Yewe who is Mar's fiancee. It is the custom for a girl to live with the family of her husband for several months before marriage. Yewe gives the appearance of being rather lazy and sullen.

Mar often comes to the house and is helpful in working with the language because of his patience but not because he can grasp a new idea very well. If he asks for something, one word of refusal is enough.--though in time this changed. Although unsatisfactory as an informant in many cases, he gave us the list of pronouns in the language very readily and with little prodding.

A joke is much funnier to Mar than to others. He harps back to something that has amused him long after the juice of the situation has been extracted by Gwiyap and May.

[156] He seemed embarrassed because he did not attend the Minjama yam cult ceremony, and the reason was that most boys of his age are already members of both Yenama and Minjama, while he is only a member of the former.

October 24, 1936:

124 Yesterday we were asking Mar his genealogy. He said that he was engaged but that his fiancee was not good so he was going to get another one. He [114] said she was not strong and didn't work well. We have taken him on to help Nemb and Wisep, our non-Kwoma houseboys, by fetching water and firewood. He seems to be glad to do it. We sealed the bargain with a pipe and "lap lap."

October 25, 1936.

*115 Mar is becoming tired of our continued questioning lately and will sometimes pretend not to hear us when we call him to verify the pronunciation of some word. He is apt to walk out of the room the minute we pause in our questioning. Yesterday we spent half an hour trying to get the Kwoma word for name, but could not make him understand what we wanted although we tried innumerable methods of trying to obtain the information.

October 29, 1936.

[584] This afternoon Mar went up the hill for a while. When he returned he was quite excited and said he had been looking at a woman whom he might later have for a wife. He was dancing around with a broad grin on his face.

November 15, 1936.

[123] Lately Mar has taken to calling me papa. This happened after we arranged a kinship relation with Gwiyap, May and ourselves, but Mar has done this without suggestion from us.

Yesterday there was talk of a fight with Tangwishamp. Most of the Kwoma men were gathered to talk things over, but Mar did not go. We asked him why not and he was quite positive about not wanting to fight.

[114] The other evening Yat was in, and we talked of going to Yasan, a river tribe above Tambon. Gwiyap said he would take us there. We asked Mar if he would like to come, but he said no. When we went to Ambunti, May and Gwiyap wanted to go with us, but Mar again said he would stay and take care of our house. Neither did he want to go to Wogu (a tribe across the river we were planning to visit) with us.

November 17, 1936.

*115 Mar asked me for a razor blade to give Aya. She has indicated that she
[584] wants to get married, and Mar feels he has a good chance of winning her. Aya
[123] is the daughter of War, who lives not far from Mar's house. War is a highly
respected member of the sib, a man of about 30, and noted for sorcery. Aya
[582] is an attractive girl of 17. Mar and Aya have no traceable common ancestor,
so no incest rules apply to their relationship, but they are both members of
the same sib, and marriage of such is definitely frowned upon.

...

November 21, 1936.

*115 Just after I had gone to bed, Mar began shouting excitedly back and forth
578 with someone down the mountainside. Then he came in and sat next to my bed.
582 He explained that he had been arguing with War. The latter found out about
Mar's intentions with Aya. He had just shouted angrily at Mar, "You stay away from my daughter. You are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry someone from the same sib?" When Mar told me this he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater." I reassured him. Mar then bit his underlip, raised his hand and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, saying, "That damn War! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" "It's too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." The fight did not eventuate. (War's objection to Mar as a husband for Aya was that they are members of the same sib, and such a marriage is frowned upon.)

November 29, 1936.

*115 A week or so ago Owiyap turned over a girl to Mar. She evidently did
[584] not like the exchange, for she told him that she would marry him only if he
[123] gave her a razor blade. Mar came to ask me for this. I asked if he wasn't going to give it to her, but he said, "No, tomorrow."

December 4, 1936.

*115 Fit ran up to us saying that Mar lay dying at the bush house. We packed
123 medicine and made the arduous trip there as fast as we could. His fiancee and sisters were there, and Mar was lying on a bark bed moaning. He seemed unable to talk but only to groan inarticulately. We took his temperature which was normal and his pulse was slow but strong. We asked him where
[754] the pain was, but he shook his head. His uncle diagnosed the case as sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies he will die, that's all." This elicted a groan from Mar. When we said that we had some medicine which would counteract sorcery, Mar lifted his head and looked at us. We gave him some eno's salts and then suggested going home as the bush house was damp and lonely. We tried to get him to stand up but with no success. We told him to lie down for a while first, which he did, remaining practically inarticulate but noticing everything that went on. If something happened behind him he would turn his head quickly to look at it. The only thing that seemed to cheer him at all was our saying that we were strong and poison could not
*115 hurt us or any of our friends. While we were still there, War sent Fit for
123 nettle leaves. These he got and War arranged them in a sort of cone, held
755 them in his hand, and blew in them for a while, muttering or whispering a sort of prayer or exortation. Then he approached Mar and told him to stand up. We helped him to his feet. War then rubbed the leaves first on Mar's chest and then on his legs. Mar gasped and his legs stiffened. He groaned a little but said nothing and made no attempt to stop the process.

*115 123 [755] After the treatment he sat down again and resumed his moaning. Later Mar sent Fit into the bush for more and larger nettles. When Fit returned with them, Mar noticed him and put his hands up to us to be lifted up. After another rub down, Tip and I put his arms over our shoulders, one standing on either side of him, and started off. As the journey progressed we found he had to be supported less and less, We went slowly, stopping quite frequently to rest. The ttip took two hours, and we were exhausted at the end. When we reached home, Mar slumped down on his sago bark bed and resumed his former state. We left him and went to visit again in the evening after Gwiyap had come up saying he had had a relapse and wanted us to see him. When we arrived he was in about the same state as when we had first seen him at the bush house. We gave him three cascara pills and left. December 6,1936.

Yesterday Mar was better, but not much. He was lying on his bed and moaning. He had not had a bowel movement; his temperature was still normal. We gave him a dose of 4 teaspoons of epsom and rubbed his face, chest and back with ambrosia, to which he reacted in much the same manner as to the nettles. In the afternoon he was somewhat better. Gwiyap reported that his bowels had moved and that he had eaten.

*115 787 This morning Gwiyap came in and told us that Mar died during the night but then came alive again. The story he told was that during the night Mar had been visited by the ghost of his older brother who had told him to come to the land of the dead. Mar at this point called out to his mother, "Mother, come! My brother is here and I am going to die." His mother has a large ulcer on her foot and could not come down from the next house where

*115 [787] she sleeps, but began to wail. Wof awoke at this and came with a torch to awaken us. He shouted at us near out house but we slept through it all. When I went to see Mar in the afternoon he was sitting up and seemed quite cheerful. He still talked very little and used no pidgin. While I was there he crawled out of the house and urinated. This he did on his hand and feet, belly up. I asked him why he did not stand and Gwiyap quickly answered that he had a bad knee.

December 7, 1936.

The report today is that Mar is much better. Kar came around, and from him we learned that Mar's older brother was a "big man" before he died. At a ceremony his position was as high as that of Mar.

December 9, 1936.

*115 123 752 Yesterday Gwiyap came to get me to treat Mar's leg. I went down to find Mar asleep and had some trouble in waking him. He had a nasty surface sore on his ankle. I swabbed it out with a solution of percuric potassium iodide and put a bandage with unguentine on it. He howled a good deal during the process but said nothing. Afterwards I fixed a little sore of Gwiyap's and although he stood it much better, he squirmed a bit, and Mar laughed at this a little. I stayed for a while and he became more cheerful still saying practically nothing however.

*115 Today during the Mundik[1] episode Mar came hobbling up the hill leaning heavily on a walking stick to see what was going on. He went back after about

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[1] Mundik was a young man who killed his wife and, seeking refuge at Waskuk, was beaten by them and nearly killed for attending a ceremony without having the proper credentials (i.e., heloids of manhood). They consider him to be insane.

*115 ten minutes and a while later I went down to his house. He was sitting up and for the first time conversed with me. We talked about Mundik. He said if Mundik were to come near his house, he would shoot him with a spear. I finally asked him if he thought that the poison was gone and he said that he thought so--that he felt all right.

December 17, 1936.

Mar is practically recovered.

December 30, 1936.

Mar came to the government station at Ambunti with Owiyap, Tat, Ham and several others. They said that they were coming to see me and also because Mar wanted to have a few bad sores on his ankles attended to. He was treated and committed to the house because he was sick. He stayed there only one day day the next day ran back to Rumbima. [123] [657]

January 17, 1937.

[584] Mar told me that he has decided to get another wife. He talked to War, who gave him condition to marry his daughter if the bride price were paid. I asked Mar if he had asked War directly, but he said that he hadn't , but that he had Kis act as go-between.

[123] The white trader and recruiter is coming soon. Mar told me of the things he wanted to buy but then sighed because he had no money. I had given Owiyap some money to purchase something, so I also gave Mar three shillings. The next day a river native came up with some shell money. (Shell money is the medium of exchange used for the bride price; any other kind of money is not accepted.) Mar rushed up to me and wanted to know if he should buy some. I told him it was his business. After sitting and fidgeting and asking me again for a while, he finally made his decision and rushed down the hill and bought some. There was another bit he could have purchased with an additional shilling which he tried [436] [583] [123] [123]

*115 [123] unsuccessfully to get from me.

*115 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get
583 some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older
brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to
collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a
[587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a
widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to
[464] earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers
[583] spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the
[476] communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.

[614] January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Gwiyap, Kamb, Mey and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an
[754] aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is
too much sorcery; War, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later
[241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams.
He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mas who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

January 27, 1937.

#115 Mar came this morning to say he was on his way and stayed all day. This evening he said that everything is prepared for an early departure the next morning. (Yesterday he seemd to have been waiting for Hemb to return).

January 28, 1937.

[123] This morning he came again and said he was leaving now. I told him to go, but he waited for a while and then asked me if I would join him, or at least come later. I could not go, but he waited and finally said that [439] he did not believe he would go after all. He said he would scrape some sago and trade it for fish with the Yambon and prepare food for a feast to pay for others to come and help him. He suggested that perhaps Hemb would shoot a 'gouris' for him for this feast, but added that perhaps Hemb [461] [241] would be cross with him for asking. Finally about ten o'clock he felt that he could delay no longer and left looking very sullen, accompanied by Owiyap's sister. There was quite a bit of pressure toward his going; both Owiyap and May said that the amount of weeds in his garden was disgraceful.

February 5, 1937.

Mar returned this morning about 10:00, greeted me warmly and said that his work was almost completed; he left Owiyap, Awa, and Kwiya there to finish [787] [123] it. He stated that he came today because of a nightmare that I was beating him with a stick. He had awakened screaming with terror and started back here as soon as it was light in order to find out if I was cross with him for something.

This afternoon he invited me to visit Mar with him. When we arrived, he appeared a trifle nervous but otherwise quite natural. He greeted the

*115 household and then had a long conversation with War's son, Mes, a lad of his own age.

[302] *115 584 He and Mes put a bleaching mixture on each other's hair--line, water and *foyimaka* leaf. I did not see him look at Aye once nor did he speak to her beyond a word of greeting. After we left and were out of sight he exclaimed excitedly, "Did you see my girl? Ai yo ha ha ha hoiyo," he shouted. Then he put his thumb in his mouth and danced on one foot and exploded in a loud voice, "I think I'll get her. Never mind about sorcery". Then contracting his brows and looking at the ground, "Yes, I think so. I don't know." Later after we had returned to my house, he spoke of his fiancee once again and said that she was good and had a good vagina (laughter). If he went away, another man might get her. If so, he would break his lime gourd and clay pot and go up to the house tamberan and beat the gong for that man to come. Then he would fight him, punch him in the nose and then in the ear. "Yes (as if I had said I did not believe him) if I stay I can look out for her, but this place is no good, and if I stay I will be sorcerized", Mar said. "What are you going to give me when you go--some money?" I told him yes and he added, "I guess I'll give it to War and then no one else can get her. She's a good girl. Oh! War. " Then I said something which he misconstrued as a suggestion to go to War's house and sleep with Aye. Mar exclaimed, "No, no; if I went there, War would shoot me with a spear. (Pause). I think I'll take your rifle and shoot War. Yes!" (As though I doubted it).

*115 Before leaving, Mar warned me not to sleep at night unless I have my rifle by my side as there were some strangers walking around today with spears. He told me to sleep, and he would leave, but I still had work to do so he decided to finish his pipe and then go. Mar started at a noise outside and in a loud voice he asked, "What is that, a ghost ? Who is that walking

*115 [823] about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No, I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went. February 6, 1937.

*115 584 [593] [754] Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of War and stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked him what was the matter with Yaya, his fiancee. He replied that she was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either. March 3, 1937.

I went to War's house with Gwiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion. As we approached the house Mar called out for Mes who was not there. Gwiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Mar^1 was not there. He was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not go in the porch but stood up outside. Gwiyap paused before going in but finally went in and sat down.

587 837 Later that day Mar told me that Wenyakowa was first married to Wonuma and by him had Dogaramanu. When her husband died she went to live with Yat. He went to work for the whites and Daguwur took care of her. One day she went to get firewood and Daguwur followed her. When she was leaning

^1 [i.e., probably Mes.—analyst]

587 over he came on her from behind and had intercourse with her. She ran away 837 and was very indignant. She said Daguwur was just like a ghost and went to live with War. Yat came back from his job and was angry with War and a big argument followed which was settled by War's buying Yat a new [583] wife. This he did -- Gewes' child, Kafa. He paid two axes, two large knives,,a lary shell necklace and twenty strings of shells.

837 786 During the Yenama ceremony a Yenama wife will make an appointment with a Minjama man. He will come around in the evening after she has put her children to bed and said that she is going out. Then she will meet the man in the bush close to the house and have intercourse with him there.

*115 836 Before I came Mar had once decorated himself grandly and gone to the marketplace. He met Kis' present wife (though she was not married at the time), who asked him to go into the bush with her. He agreed but before they did they met a group of men smoking in the road. Kis joined them, and they returned to the market. Later Kis' wife spoke to Mar about what had happened, but she never came up to him again and now she is married to Kis.

March 7, 1937.

*115 583 Mes is married to Mar's sister and has not paid for her yet. Mar wants to marry Mes' sister Aya, but War will not allow it unless he pays immediately. Mar can ask payment to be completed on his own sister and then return it to War but he is afraid to force War, not because he is afraid to fight him but because he is afraid of sorcery.

*115 This afternoon however, Mar was very elated, striding about and talking
584 in a loud voice. He said that Mae has agreed to act as a go-between to ask
[759] Aye to meet him in the bush house. One of Mar's brothers warned him to be
careful in his friendship with Mae (Mar has been joking with Mae alot
lately) because he is susceptible to sorcery. His older brother died
from it, and he, Mar, has had several attacks.

March 13, 1937.

Mar and the rest of his household do not like Yawa, his fiancee, but she says that she does not want to leave despite the fact that he has not had intercourse with her and that she had not cooked for him yet.

April 11, 1937.

*115 I arrived back from a short trip and found Mar lying flat on the floor
787 of my house, looking very ill and able to speak only in monosyllables.
602 His 'brothers' said that he could not talk. They explained that last
753 night they were at my house bandying words with their 'sisters' who were
standing just outside. Awa taunted Mar saying that his hair was naturally white, not white because he had bleached it. Mar had grabbed a stick and rushed out after her. He had gone only a short way when he fell to the ground, apparently dead. When he had recovered enough to talk, he explained that he had met his father's ghost who had asked him why he was going to beat his 'sister', forbade him, and knocked him to the ground in a trance. His father's ghost had struggled with his (Mar's) soul and tried to take it back with him to the land of the dead, but Mar's soul had finally won out. He had lain, apparently insensate, on the ground for a long time. Chimuwa, his paternal uncle's wife, pounded him, but got no reaction. Gwiyap, May and Fit got sticks and chased the ghost away. Finally, Mar came to enough to go to my house. His 'brothers' stayed awake all night with sticks in their hands and made frequent sallies with them to show the ghost they were serious. Half an hour after I arrived, Mar had

*115 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot
787 of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough.
602 He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left then to get
753 it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 When Mar, Afok , Fokotay, Dawangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and
[754] Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerized and
had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid
156 on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said,
[648] "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know
I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman,
that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able
to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind."
He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he
[123] were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked
me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

April 15, 1937.

*115 Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Gwanta
584 and Yamba to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish.
[123] Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want
me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again War if he makes a
fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it
582 was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

*115 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on
582 up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he
584 satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter
583 which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115
583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and
Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*115 I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has
648 signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and
464 Gwiyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned
[602] him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the
[754] sib, but Mar left nevertheless.
[614]

Chapter IV

Case History- GWIYAP

*115 Gwiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He
157 is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged
persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent
[191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned
*115 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second
593 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young--
736 his mother killed in an incident with the Tangwishamps. He was carried
*115 off by his foster mother, and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His
553 name was given him by the Malus with whom he stayed after the raid. His
mother had named him Woyshokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

648 Gwiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all
726 himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out
in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men
and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the
house tamberan for a long time. The Hongwam hid in the house except for a
few men. Gwiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his
'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down
coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow
Gwiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then,
when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the
bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Gwiyap, who had
123 gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We
ate at Marok's house, and during the meal , Gwiyap sat down beside me and

*115 put his arm around me repeating, "Oh, master! Greetings!" several times.
123 Mar's two sisters and three female children were around, and it may have
[576] been partly to show off to them. Such action fits in with Kwoma culture,
[522] in which embracing is the form of greeting. I asked Owiyap if one of the little girls were his *mima* (girl), intending to kid him, but he said, "No," and carefully explained her relationship to him. He was perfectly serious in this. I tried the same thing with May, with the same result; so apparently such kidding is not done in this culture. On the way back, Owiyap carried the rifle and led the procession although Wof, Mar and Marok, all older than he, were present.

October 21, 1936.

*115 He came in this morning, and we asked him for some words, which he
648 gave us. Then, unbidden, he told us a story of a hanging he had seen several years before (three, according to Hamb). Some of the natives of Madeyakwa, a village in the bush behind Avatip, had wounded a police boy in the leg with a spear. The "kiop" had punished them by hanging seven of them and had brought in natives from the surrounding villages to observe this so that it would be an example to them. This is the second time he had volunteered stories of the killing of natives by white men. This time, as before, he told the story animatedly, as if he were telling a very interesting and exciting bit of news.

October 28, 1936.

*115 Owiyap came back from the bush house the day before yesterday and seemed
124 glad to see us. He embraced us both. He and May bothhbegan helping around
[123] the house, and since Mamb is gone, we officially made them houseboys and
gave them "lap laps." Yesterday while we were working, Owiyap took up a
pencil and drew a picture of a couple of digging sticks--something which we
had not mentioned for some time. We had drawn the material culture objects
at Wof's house over a week before. We then asked him to draw a gamba (ghost).
This he did--a male one first. Thein we asked him to draw a female one,
[831] which he also did. He mentioned that bhe male figure had two penises. Then
he gave the names for the male and female genitals and said that one puts
his penis into a vagina (laughing). We asked him the name for this, and
he told us. He got a great kick out of the conversation.

October 29, 1936.

*115 593 Today we told Owiyap and the other houseboys that we were going to Ambunti tomorrow. As Owiyap wanted to come with us, we said he could, but that he would have to tell Wof, who is a sort of foster father to him. Owiyap was incensed at this, and said Wof was not his real father and had no authority over him.

November 9, 1936.

*115 787 There was a very strong wind last night. Owiyap came in and reported that he had dreamed of his father, who had appeared and told Owiyap that a big wind wascoming to drive away the mosquitoes. I asked him if that were

*115 787 all and he said "yes." He got a bit irritated at me after I had asked him several time but finally he told me of a dream which he had had several nights before and which he had already told to Tip. In this dream he had seen his father with a great many yams, coconuts, bananas, etc. His father was carrying them back to the cemetery to eat. He also had a large cup in which to cook the food. Gwiyap was looking on, and the smell of death was very strong, "all the same big fella pek pek" (like a big pile of feces). His father began eating his food and with it the bones of dead men. Then Gwiyap remembered another fragment which was about large dogs with hands and feet. They were climbing up coconut trees and throwing down the fruit. Then he saw a lot of dead men--people he did not know, who had died long ago. They were big men just like "you two fella masta", and were going in a sort of procession up to their dwelling place on the top of a mountain. I asked him if there were any women in the dream, but he said no. The people live in a great tree with a hole in the bottom of it.

November 10, 1936.

[123] Last night Gwiyap had a dream in which he and Tip and I were walking over to Sasarəman. (Tip had actually walked over that way yesterday afternoon). When we arrived, Gwiyap warned us that the Sombindura were coming for us with spears to kill us. Tip, however, had his .22. That was all he could remember. At it occurred yesterday, he became irritated when I asked him if there were any more.

November 14, 1936.

*115 123 The day before yesterday, I was fooling around in front of the house with some of the kids. I was pretending to fight with Gwiyap. Once when my back was turned, he hit me with the flat of his hand. I turned around quickly and started to chase him--laughing and shouting the while. We scrambled down the mountainside, onto a path which led down the mountain

*115 very steeply-- about the angle of an ordinary staircase, with holes cut in
123 the mud for footing. Gwiyap hit this path going full tilt and had not gone
far before he slipped and took quite a nasty spill. I was not so sure
footed and had slowed down to a walk. When I saw him lying down, I asked
if he were all right, and started down to pick him up. When he saw me
coming, he got up with a look of terror on his face, and sobbing, limped
down the path. I stopped and told him that it was all right, that I was
only playing and then he stopped and sat down. When I started back up the
hill he went into the bushes to hide. Mar came at this point and we both
went to look for him, but could not find him. When we got to the top of
the hill, we waited, and yelled and about five minutes later Gwiyap appeared.
He said he was fooling us when he hid in the bush and that he was all right.
He showed no fear of me and laughed about the incident. He said that he
knew I was fooling, but I could feel a slight undercurrent of resentment
about the affair.

587 This morning Wof married Gwiyap's foster mother. He was talking about
*115 it the night before, and Gwiyap must have know his intentions. When Gwiyap
787 came with my tea, almost the first thing he said was that he had a dream
123 to report. Usually I have to ask him first. The dream was this. "Last
[757] night a big tall man came after me with a spiky leaf (used by the
[304] natives as a counterirritant, particularly after they are cicatrized at
initiation). I ran down the hill and he chased me. Finally I got to
the water and jumped in and died. Then a man like Mar came and took me
out and carried me to the funeral platform and laid me out on it. Then
I got up and came down from the platform. I was not dead." I asked him who
the man who had chased him was, and he said he did not know, butthat he
was very big and tall and that he was a "man belong tamberanks" (one of
the ghosts of dead Hongwam).

* 115 In talking over Owiyap with Tip, I was reminded of a couple of things about him that I have not yet recorded. In the first place, he has showed more interest in looking at pictures in the magazines and books that we have than the others --particularly the last number of the Pacific Island Monthly, which he has gone through half a dozen times, asking us what the pictures are--machines, ships, houses, etc., and then having been told, repeating them to himself, much like a child with a picture book.

Another thing is that several days ago, Tip gave him an old tooth brush. Since then, almost every morning he has asked us for it and has spent a long time scrubbing at his teeth and then looking at them in the morror and showing them to us.

[191] Still another fact is the remarkable amount of pidgin he knows, for a child and for one who has obtained it 'second-hand' from returned "savvy talks". He is always eager to learn new words, and is very quick to learn to make a bed, to cook, or to do other things about the house.

November 15, 1936.

* 115 787 Tip got a dream from him this moring while I was asleep . Owiyap was with Mar going through the bush when they met a cinuk (snake). It was a very tall thing made of leather and emitted a noise like a toy bull-roarer, but very much louder. It was a gamba (ghost) . They chased it, killed it and buried it. Then they were afraid about what they had done. As they were leaving the spot, another gamba approached and asked them why they had killed the cinuk. They lied, saying "We didn't kill him", and hurried away.

November 29, 1936.

*115
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About a week ago Gwiyap and Tip were down at the market place watching the women trading. A girl came up to Gwiyap and talked with him. He then told Tip that she wanted to marry him, but that he had refused and said he was too young to have a wife. Later in the day it turned out that he had turned his option on her over to Mar. In telling me about the situation he said that plenty of girls wanted to marry him but that he was not interested.

The night before last he dreamed of a great deal of food being brought to him in a net bag.

*115
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-123

Yesterday when I was talking to him, I asked if he had ever had intercourse. He was noncommital, "Me no savvy"; I mentioned that I had, and to make it sound convincing, listed several names. He was very much interested and wanted to know if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him we kept it sedret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that we had a machine to prevent that. That evening when he came up after supper I began pumping him about ghosts and as soon as there was a lull in the conversation he broke in with a tale of his escapades. He named three girls, three of them from his sib, as well as Mar's sister, with whom he had had intercourse--both in the bush and in the house. He told this in great glee and added, "Fashion belong me all the same you"(my customs are the same as yours). When he told me of Mar's sister, he made me promise not to tell Mar about it.

*115 123 775 Later in the evening I began making shadow pictures on the wall. Neither Gwiyap nor May likes this. They said that ghosts would come. I knew that whistling at night was also supposed to bring ghosts, so I tried that to add to the effect. This worried them all the more. They were getting quite uncomfortable, so I stopped. Just at that moment some insect began to make a whistling noise. Both of them started at this and after a moment bolted for their own house.

*115 This morning we heard a bird of paradise crying, and Tip decided to go hunt it. He asked Gwiyap to come, but Gwiyap made excuses--the road was no good, and it was going to rain. So Tip went with Marur and Hamb. I asked Gwiyap what the real reason for his not going was and finally wormed it out of him. He had not killed a man; he was a "monki nothing" and since he couldn't wear the feathers, there was no point to his going along.

*115 648 464 Recruiters will be coming in to Hongwam again to sign on boys. Gwiyap is anxious to go and expects that others of his age will go too. He is looking forward eagerly to the chance. He knows that it is "hard work too much", but is not deterred by that fact.

The material gain is what seems most important to him. He recounts how many boxes of goods his brought back purchased from the money he received. The boys who have signed on and worked before will not sign on again.

December 1, 1936.

787 Last night a ghost possessed Mar's fiancee, Yawa. Wof exorcised it. According to Gwiyap, the ghost was really after Wof to punish him for marrying Chimawa. Gwiyap could not go to sleep until early morning after this incident.

According to Gwiyap /Mar and his wife know how to be possessed by spirits; Chimawa and Way's wife know a little about it. These are the only persons in Rumbima who can be possessed by spirits.

December 9, 1936.

*115 The day before yesterday Gwiyap said that he felt sick. We took his
123 temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him
to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual,
[753] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and
he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next
day, he was all right.

578 There is some talk of a feud between Nowel (Sow's child) and Gwiyap.
*115 Gwiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and
he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Nowel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 Gwiyap's yaka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister
[736] Uka, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uka was married to
a man from Duwus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If
he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.

[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and ghere were many who wanted to
have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her
husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others.
Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerised Siyowa, and he died.
[428] Before his death, however, he told Gwiyap that when the pay came for Uka,
it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalisation of normal inheritance).
Since Siyowa's death, Marok had been looking our for Uka.

January 26, 1937.

*115 I asked Gwiyap if his father was a hard man. "Man! hard felo lik lik!"
593 (That's putting it mildly!") Did his father ever beat him? "Yes." Once he had asked his father for pig's meat. His father had replied that he didn't have any. Gwiyap had cried, and his father had beaten him. Gwiyap later grabbed a spear to shoot his father, but Mar's older brother had
[604] prevented him. Another time his mother had been cross with him and he had run away and stayed with his mam (mother's brother) for several days until his mother had finally come and taken him back. He often went and stayed with Mar, who was his chief playmate even though he was older.

January 28, 1937.

*115 Gwiyap had a dream last night that he and Mar and I were going down the
787 hill to the market place on the way to work for the white man, followed by a group of women. When we reached the foot of the hill and got into a canoe to go out to a pinnace which was waiting, the women wanted to go too and started to get into the canoe. We said that they must stop, whereupon they wailed and broke their lime gourds. We got on the pinnace and went down the river as far as Angoram, where we got onto the Montoro, which Gwiyap thought was "big tu mas (big too much). I asked him who the women were who had followed, and he said, "O, altogader mari" (oh, all the women). Then he mentioned particularly his sisters and mother and Mar's sisters.

February 2, 1937.

*115 Gwiyap has met Way's daughter at night and today met Sowinambi's
584 daughter on the way to Sombundum. She called him aside and said she
883 had heard he was leaving with me but that she would wait for his return and would marry no one else. He said all right. He told me that plenty of girls would like to marry him--"plenti felo mari i laik getup long mi " When we discussed her waiting for him and the fact that he didn't intend to

*115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

*115 752 123 657 The sore on Gwiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Wes was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Gwiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture

133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a *s*, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[137] [241] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

February 13, 1937.

126 Yesterday Tip left. Gwiyap and I put the ceremonial figures in boxes.

+115 787 Gwiyap had a dream last night. Some master whom he did not know was living here and had a lot of boxes which he and all the other Hongwam carried down to the pinnace. The boxes were very large and heavy. When they reached the market place, the master found that one box was missing; he was very cross, and sent them back to look for it. Gwiyap finally found that another Hongwam had taken it to his house. He reported this to the "kiop" at Ambunti who told him that if he returned the box it would be all right.

602 +115 Kwiya came by carrying firewood and Gwiyap yelled something bawdy several times. She answered, evidently in the same vein. I asked Gwiyap if she understood him. He said that she did, but that it was all right +115 between 'brother' and 'sister'. Then he said that he thought it would be 836 good to go away with me, for so many girls liked him and had intercourse 883 with him that he would get in trouble, and then he recounted his conquests again: Kwiya, Awe, Way's older daughter, Mas' sister, and Sowinambi's daughter. I asked him if he hadn't had intercourse with Way's other daughter. His face dropped and he said that he hadn't -- that she didn't like him. Then he brightened and said that she was no good anyway--"bone nothing." (To me the two seem nearly of an age and look very much alike.) Then he said that Mas' sister was the best of all--she has a very large vagina. He cautioned me not to tell Mar about having intercourse with his sister (Awe), for "he would fight me." "No, he would not fight me, but I would have shame."

He came in this afternoon about four, sweating, and boasted that he had just had intercourse twice with Awe in their house. May came in, and he kept still. Later he said that he didn't want May to know, for he might tell Mar.

March 4, 1937.

*115 Gwiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I
787 was to go with him. He asked Gwiyap if he were going with him, to which
123 Gwiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide.
I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give
it to him.

March 8, 1937.

*115
572 Gwiyap inheritbd Yatafauf as a marambai (friend) but chose Amasay.
765 When a friend dies, the number 1 marambai gets the jaw bone; number 2
the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 Kowas come in this morning with an erection. Gwiyap said that if
831 a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick.
Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has
an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Gwiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that
he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of
the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she
says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he
were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

*115 When Gwiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they
857 would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook
them. Gwiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not
come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong.
Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by
gumma kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance
of them (the houses were built near home.)

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Gwiyap and Fit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 171 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Gwiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

*115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Kwiya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both awa (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her amwa or nawalaka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 15, 1937.

*115 291 Last night Gwiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

*115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Gwiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

*115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Tumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Gwiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

*115 Way, having stuck the spear through the body of dead woman, carried her down
787 to the water and threw her away. Then Gwiyap, Way , and his whole family ran away into the bush and came to a yam house. (Gwiyap's mother's name was Kowmbwas, which means 'no yams'.) They sat down in this and made a fire. Way's wife inquired whose garden it was and said there must be a man about, so they left and went to their own garden in the bush. Way's two daughters got some tiny little bush bananas (gamba yofu). The mother carried a little pot-- "just like the one on your table" -- and they made soup. Then they walked through grassland. Way said they were going to a place where there were men who had taken heads. Merik , their son, began to cry and was very afraid, but they kept on until they came to a marsalai dwelling place where they became afraid and turned back. Next they came to the edge of a 'round water' , where they saw a canoe which Gwiyap wanted to take. Way said that it belonged to someone else who would fight them if they took it, but Gwiyap said, "Never mind", and took Gwenta across and then returned to get the rest. They then came to
[123] Malu. The Malus,asked what they were doing their and were told they were hiding from the "kiop" because they had killed the master at Waskuk. ("This dream is about you.") The Malus said it would be all right--that they would hide them. Gwenta and Gwiyap returned to their bush house, leaving Way and the othersbehind. They stayed there and Gwenta killed a gouria pigeon with her hands and made soup of it which they ate. Then Gwiyap went to defecate and came all the way to my house when he woke up.

*115 After reporting the dream, he said that he did not like the idea of the
648 head hunting raid-- that he thought he would go to America with me. He
123 thought this place would be 'shot up' by the police again.
829

*115 (Later) He has been walking around without his "lap lap," saying it
291 is a "gud felo fashion."

April 16, 1937.

*115 Gwiyap heard that Gawri, Sowinambi's daughter on whom he has designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was betrothed she
would kill her. This pleases Gwiyap. He said that he was going to
"break talk" (break his betrothal).

April 21, 1937.

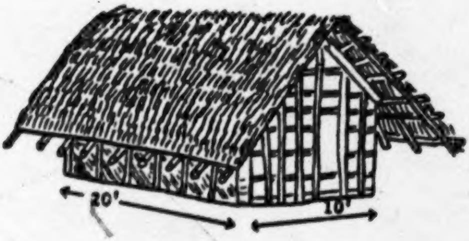
583 Gwiyap has not paid the large indemnity, ma fander ya which is about
768 half the bride price, for his mother's death because her brothers did not
593 look out for her good. He therefore has broken the relationship between
604 her brothers.

Chapter V
Field Notes Not Previously Published

House and building construction

342 Houses are not permanent enough to be important in inheritance. If [428] a man dies, the remainder of the family lives in his house until it falls [423] down or begins to leak. The house, however, is considered to be the property of the male children. A house may last ten years, and is [372] abandoned when it falls apart. The available timber is used for other purposes-- firewood, for example.

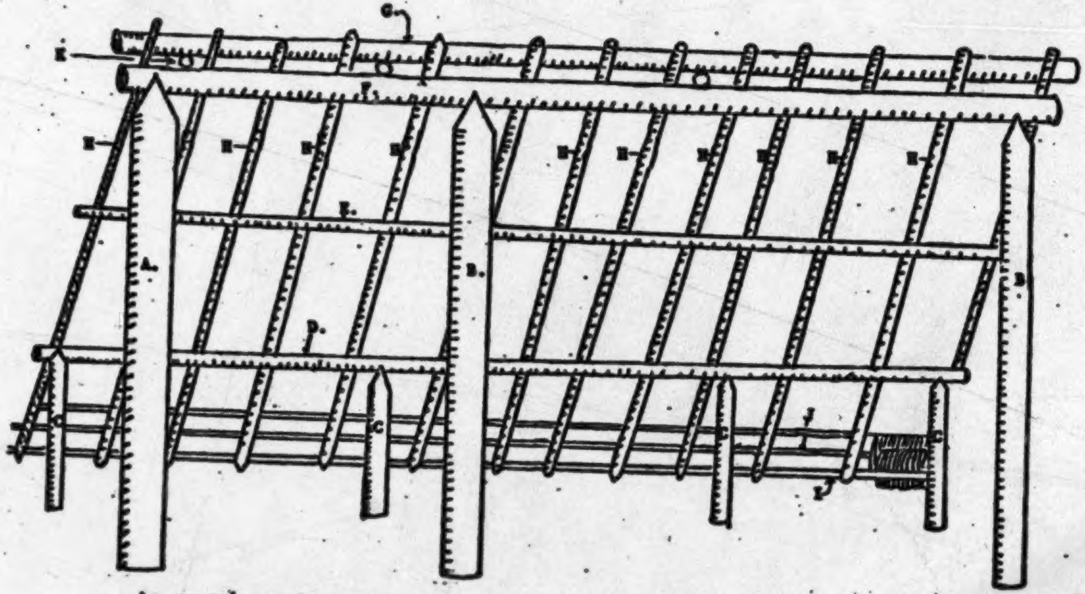
343 The figure below illustrates a house for storing yams and taro (koyaká) 342 but is identical in construction to a dwelling house.



There are two central posts at either end of the outside room. The roof overhangs in either direction. The construction is identical to the room of a dwelling house. The porches are extended from this frame.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

Key to House Construction --Center posts and roof



A. sumaré -- main central post
B. m@odé kwaté--subsidiary central posts
C. tafé fayé-- side posts
D. akéifayé--plate
E. aké jiré--stringer
F. aké towé--ridgepole

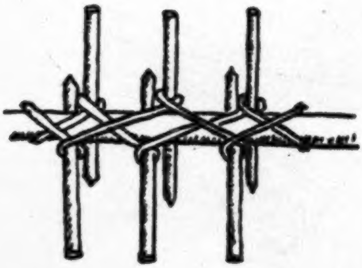
G. yi towé-- binder
H. ya yemi--rafters
I. suku nyungeyé--bamboo runners attached to hold ends of shingles
J. aka ug@yé-- runners to hold shingles
K. aké warunké-- cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap.

342 335 [804] Posts are measured and cut and moved to the building site. To measure the correct length a bamboo is marked by lashing a chip at the desired spot. The diameter of a post is measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around the post and breaking the splint at the point of overlap. The measure is used as a guide in digging the hole. The posts are also measured as they are set to insure a level ridgepole.

The figure on the preceding page shows the frame of a house, the center posts and half of the roof, and gives definitions for the labels. Following is the procedure used in construction the frame and house.

342 335 192
1. Two *məndé kwaté* (b) (subsidiary central posts) are first set. The central posts (*wəndé kwat*) stand at each end of the enclosed part of the house.
2. *Tafé tompé* (c) (side posts) are set.
3. *Aké fayé* (d) (plate) set.
4. A staging of log lashed from the *tafé tompé* (c) (side posts) to the *aké fayé* (d) (plate) and lengthwise logs lashed on this. (For the house tamberan, a very elaborate staging is built-- subsidiary rafters are lashed to a temporary ridgepole up two-thirds way to the *məndé kwaté* (b) (subdisiary central posts).)
5. *Aké towé* (f) (ridgepole) lifted up and lashed. The main ridgepole extends only over the main room (*akawé*). The smaller ridgepole extension (*yi tow*) extends over the porch.
6. *Yayemé* (h) (rafters) set and attached. Those on the porch end of the house are slanted forward toward the peak. (see figure below)

342
335
[284] Method for binding rafters to ridgepole



Bwas nie, a room in which carved wooden images (sugilwas) are stored is made of cross rafters bound to the porch rafters. The room extends from the pastition at the central post about 8 feet out, has a palm spathe floor and partition of uprights laced with maretta leaves. The outside cross beam is supported by split limma cord to the yi tow (ridgepole extension). The room is open on the end facing into the house.

7. Aké jiré (e) (stringer) set and attached.

8. Aké warunkw (k)(cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap) fastened.

9. Yi towé (g) (binder) attached.

10. Roofing. Palm spathes (ndofé) are most commonly used for roofing. Ndofokw fiju is preferred but less common and usually used for house tamberans 342 The leaves (4) are stacked one on top of another, butts and points alternating direction, folded in the middle over the palm spathe slat so that the new [412] bundle slightly overlaps the previous bundle. The leaves are sewn with an [283] overhand back stitch-- the needle a sharpened hollow stick, the thread split liana. The slat to which the bundles are attached is made from a split areca palm trunk, about five feet long and one half inch square.

342 192 [284] gougwí yiju are slats fastened to the rafters with a figure eight lashing. The bundles are arranged but not sewn as above. They are left to flap. This is the most usuâl method of roofing for dwellings.

11. Process repeated for akí ma (porch extension).

12. Porch cap cónstructed.

342 335 192 The partition of the inner room is made by setting uprights (either round or split, akʷwoyí ma, in the ground and lashing them to akó fayí (d) (plates) on the sides of the house and to a cross beam, kwas njema, which also serves as an inside floor joyce for the kwas nje (see 6 above). These partitioning uprights are spaced about 4 inches apart and lashed with split liana cord (fokw) on the ousside. On the inside the partitions are lashed with sago spathes (mbi) which are overlapped and lashed to the uprights with split liana cord.

A door (momporirjé) is made by a space left in the center of the partition, approximately 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. The door is encased by round sticks alternately parallel and upright to the ground and lashed with split liana cord.

342 353 352 Other finishing involves setting triangular shelves into corners here and there for storing pots. These shelves are about 3 feet from the ground. Under the kwas nje room floor, a couple of cross pieces are suspended from that floor joyce for storing spears, etc. The back porch is usually left unfinished.

342 [351] [352] Houses are usually built on flat ground and therefore a floor is not necessary. Sometimes coconut palm trunks are opened and flattened which serve as flooring. These would be found in houses raised above the ground, those that are built out of a hill, and some houses built on level ground.

The shingles are of sago fronds, attached to gross grids of split bamboo and lashed to the posts.

Division of Labor

462
[226]
[286]
[243]
[312]
[411]
[224]
[241]
[252]

Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Gongs

534 [796] [202] 534 322 (412) [192]

Gongs, used particularly at the yam cult ceremonies, are also used for calling people and signaling. Any given person may be called on the gongs by beating the signal of his father's sib followed by that of his mother.

In making a gong, the figure head is worked first and then the body is shaped. Very little wood is taken off as a large gong is desirable. The center is chipped out with a long handled chisel (yonkwo) and the sides scraped down with a scraper (asé). The scraper is worked by two men. One standing who pulls the scraper up and down, while the other stoops holding the scraper tight against the wood. While this is being done, the gong is sounded every once in a while to determine the thickness of the planking.

533 [192]

Gong rhythms (ka represents left hand intermediate beat; gadong represents low gong; gadang represents middle gong; gading represents high gong.)

nokwc ?af

ka danga ka danga

donga donga danga gading

donga donga danga gading

dong gadong gading gadang

dong gadong gading gadang

nawrénjo

gadang gadong gading

533 usu

gadang gadang gajong gadong gading gading

gadong gadang gadong gadong gading gading

o a o a i i

foyi tomáto

gading, gadang, gading, gadang, gading

umwiyaf

gadanga, gadanga gadonga, gadonga

gading, gadang, gading, gadong

gading gadang gading gadang gading gadang

nano

gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gading, gading, gading

gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gading, gading, gading

gadong, gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gadong, gadong

Songs, exhortations

539 Wail sung to mourn a death

533 hogvinamámaəfíyeyegət ahé	Who is looking for him?
764 gamba go ha sowahə	He is gone to the land of the dead.
afekw mata né ye yen hə	Father come and get him.

Wail sung to mourn a death

ewi pahéhé	Mother come
nokwa aké nahé	Give me sago
hogwi anhanahé	Give me meat
aié hawahé	I am hungry

789 Casting a spell (yambe meniijo) as used to protect gardens from pigs
[192] and theft, to prevent rain, thunder, lightening, to quell the wind, etc. ,
and for healing purposes.

789 Exhortation to meraslai to quell the wind. If all the snakes are killed, tied
539 up and put in a hold, the wind cannot blow.

533 unénaírí sowígo	Kill the snake (a certain kind in each case)
naygwus sowígo	" " "
hofíma sowígo	" " "
kia hofí sowígo	" " "
weyíhof sowígo	" " "
apunkérímbwajuwé	Fasten him
noké fayítin juwé	Tie him up
hay waguwé	Put him in the hollow of a tree.

Magical verse to cure a boil

755	waié kwiyé na foso	Growth on breadfruit go away
539	mogwi na foso	Breast go away
533	yatoké na foso	Leg go away
	tabac na foso	Tobacco go away
	krék na foso	Penis go away
	mandé ná na foso	Testicles go away
	hafoké ná na foso	Shoulder go away
	ugwi ná na foso	Water go away

533 Songs are not only sung in chorus (hogwaiiju) , but also with a leader
192 and chorus (hogwisawat).

Totems

614 Listed below are the three sibs and a collection of some of the totems of each of them.

Wanyi	a pig; gouria pigeon, cassowary, duck, some small birds ; liana; grass; crocodile; a shield; and variety of yam with black leaves .
Tug	a dog; sago grub; vegetable food; sago palm; areca nut ; hornbill, cockatoo; red snake; water fowl, white egret, and several small birds.
Hayamakwo	bird of paradise; all fish, but especially the saw fish and other large fish, shadows, taro, a variety of yam with white leaves; large fish hawk, large opossum, vagina. Kumbendém, a snake which causes thunder by talking angrily; Angeyéwari, the brother of Kumbendém, lives in a large stone. Angéndimi, the sons of Kumbendém, and Ngewégwi, the wife.

Ethnophysiology

826 The heart (*mesuk*) is the seat of life. It controls the breath
827 which come through the nose or the mouth. If a man's heart is injured, he
dies. It is located where the ribs join the sternum in the little soft spot
just under the breastbone. It is visible by day in the faint pulsating
seen at this point. At night the *mesuk* moves up to the small depression
just below the Adam's apple . It sleeps while the organism does. A
person must not be awakened suddenly lest the *mesuk* have enough time to
return to the daytime position. It is supposed to wake itself first; then
the person opens his eyes. The *mesuk* is small in a child and proportionately
larger as the man or woman grows. It is strong in a strong man and weak
[825] in a weak one. Birds, snakes, and other animals as well as ghosts also
[775] have *mesuk*.

Food goes in at the mouth, down the neck, and into the stomach where it stays for a while. At the time of defecation, it goes down the intestines and out the anus. Water goes directly to the bladder where it stops until time for urination, when it goes down and out the penis. Sperm is said to be produced in the bladder. The testicles are thought to have no function. Lungs are hung up on either side of the stomach but have no connection with the stomach.

Eyes have a small rope but it is not connected with anything. Neither are the holes in nose or ears connected with anything . The holes in the ears just stop.

The veins and arteries (*nenawa*) are to make the skin strong. They are unconnected and unrelated with the other vital organs. Blood is everywhere inside the skin. The kidneys are to make the back strong, as is the heart which is also for breath.

192 [826] [262] [614]	marinokw	the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another sib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.
	mambeyé	ears
	mborowang	neck
	masuk	heart
	wofu	lungs
	kumbu	stomach
	sungu	intestines
	nangorusuku	kidneys
	mogu	bladder
	eré	penis
	mandé	testicles
	sumé suf	anus

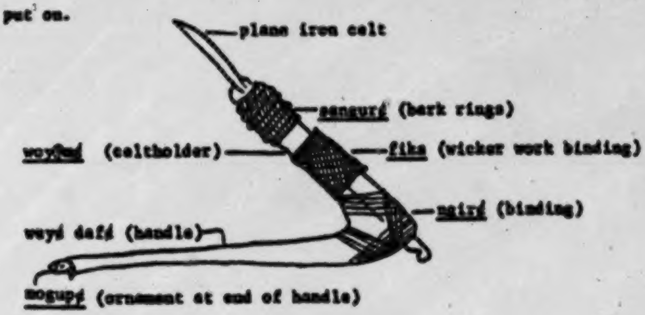
757 Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the sisékofé (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family. [753] Boils are not caused by poison.

Tools

412 Adze (woye)

192 To make an adze, the celt holder (woyɨmɨ) is shaped and split at the end. Preferred wood is wɨmdɨ (pidgin, kwilɨ), but other wood is used. The handle has also beenshaped and is made from any wood. A section is cut out, usually from a small tree where a small branch joins the larger or the main trunk , and is concaved to fit the slightly convex celt holder. A straight handle is preferred, but a slightly curved one is not disliked. The angle between the face and handle varies from about 50° to 70° . The iron celt (formerly stone) is slipped into the split in the celt holder. Bark rings (sangurɨ) which have been dried are slipped on from the top and forced down, holding the celt firmly in place. The wicker work is then woven into a sleeve and the handle is slipped into this. Hoops from prepared liana [284] bark are also used to attach the handle to the celtholder. The hoop is measured to the collar of the celtholder by tying it in a half knot which is pulled tight. This is slipped off and the ends are tucked on either side of the loop until a twisted loop is formed four or five strands thick. The twists are laid carefully side by side, which causes the loop to thicken and therefore a lessening of the inner circumference so that the loop will jam when driven to the shoulder. When the handle has been attached, a final binding is put on.

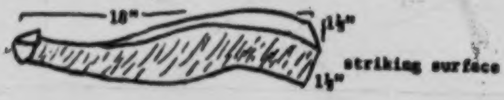
[284]



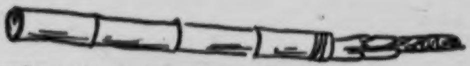
412
192 The handles for (adzes) wolrs, especially those used to break up sago, are buried in the mud for a period of about two years. They become very hard and tough and have a high black polish. A stick (gímúgúsínd) is also made this way and used in place of the stone blade for crushing sago pith. The cutting point is sharpened by pecking with a pig's tusk scraper into a cup shaped point. The wood is extremely hard after burying so it is shaped before putting it into the water.

412
192

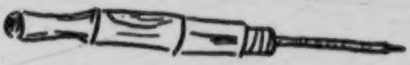
hammer (mbombo) -- made from heavy hard wood



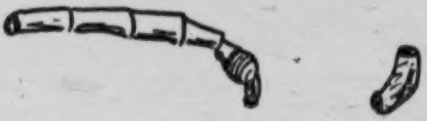
celtholder (woyimɨ)-- made with bamboo holder, plane iron celt



chipper (yonkwo)-- made with bamboo handle, iron rod with wedge chisel point. Handle about four feet long.

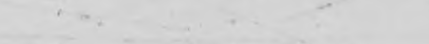


scraper (asɨ) -- bamboo handle, celt stone, about three and a half feet long.



chipper (yonkwo)-- bamboo or wooden handle, plane iron chipper, attached by split liana cord (fikɨ) hoops, about three feet long.

chipper (yonkwo)-- made with wooden handle, attached by hoops.



Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the mésié tree is peeled off in short strips (one to two feet long). These strips are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and loosens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is separated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh separately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 824 Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berries used for dye are from two trees, kédogé and nowé, the former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. [245] Men plant the nowé trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with a digging stick. [177] The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it was brought to the Hongwam through Yambon. (Yambon is a river tribe). [178] Before this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.

Paints

386 In addition to the berries used to dye twines, paints are made by
192 various clays. Black paint, wánd (kwilé- pidgin) is made by burning wánd wood. The charcoal is heavy and resinous, and when scraped with a stone is mixed with the sap of sángwiyawí . Other colors are made by mixing clay with water. They are nowí keyí (black clay) ; séké nowí (red clay); mbéndawí nowí (yellow clay) ; noguno (white clay).

532 Sumilawas (carved wooden figures representing mermaids used at the
386 yam cult ceremonies) are painted with a small brush made from the frayed skin
[413] of a betel pepper fastened to a small stick. The black paint is applied all over the figure and dried in the sun. The other clay colors are applied over the black.

Hunting

223 Cassowary hunting

Cassowaries (apasanka) are surrounded by dogs in daylight. The hunter uses a spear and seeks the vital spot under the ribs for the kill. It is useless to spear them in the back or chest, for such a stab does not kill and a wounded cassowary may turn on a man and "deal him a terrific blow" with its foot. If the cassowayy is sitting, the hunter builds a fence and advances under cover of darkness to spear the bird.

Large cassowaries (7-8' high at head) may have five young; medium sized birds may have three young, and small ones may have 2 young.

Upon sighting a cassowary with young, a boy hides behind a tree close to the path. He allows the mother to pass and then gathers up the (three) chicks--the size of a large fowl, in his arms, ties their legs and necks with rope, and carries them off. If the mother gives chase, the boy clambers up a tree with his burden.

Pig hunting

224 Pig hunting is regarded as a grown man's job. It is dangerous at times because wild pigs attack men. A man might go out for two or three days in the bush toward Ambunti where there are known to be many pigs. The actual hunting is done at night. One method is to build a sago frond blind (bannis) across a track. An opened sago log is placed on the other side to attract pigs. The hunter crouches behind the blind to wait. When an animal comes, the hunter rises slowly and thrusts the spear hard behind the right shoulder.

When a spear is used in hunting pig it is grasped near the middle of the shaft in the right hand (with palm toward body). The hunter assumes a crouching posture with his body weight resting on his right leg, almost sitting on his right heel. The left leg is extended in the direction of the

224 spear for balance. The hunter approaches prey in this semi-sitting position [481] by shifting weight to his left leg and then settling back again on the right. When the prey is within striking distance, he rises with weight on the right leg, draws back the spear at a level with his eye, and plunges it downward at an angle, following through with the weight of his body onto his left leg.

Another method used in pig hunting is to catch the pigs in pitfalls and spear them after they are caught. The pitfall is about four feet in diameter, three feet deep, covered with twigs and leaves, and dug near a sago swamp.

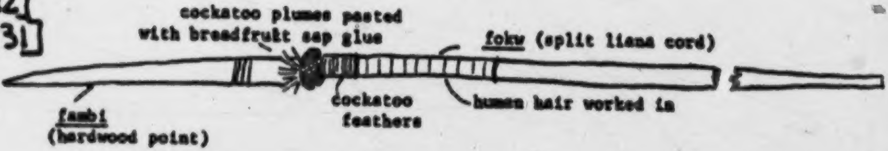
Spears

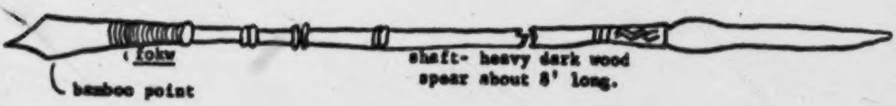
411 A description of how the spear is thrown appears in the section on pig hunting.

411
322 Bamboo spear points are used as well as hardwood points. These made from bamboo are frequently found about the house drying. They are made by splitting a large bamboo stalk, one and one half to two inches in diameter. The sides are sprung apart by small pegs to keep the bamboo from shriveling together and to open and flatten it slightly. The section cut contains one node and about two or three inches of a second node which is used at a butt. These sections are put in the peak of the house and dried for several months. They are then sharpened and if not immediately used, are put back with the spreders still intact.

411 The figures below show not only a man hunting spear, but also decorations from some spear handles.

[824]
[192]
[531]


cockatoo plumes pasted with breadfruit sap glue
foku (split liana cord)
fambi (hardwood point)
cockatoo feathers
human hair worked in

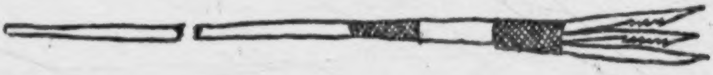

foku
bamboo point
shaft- heavy dark wood spear about 8' long.

Bow and arrow

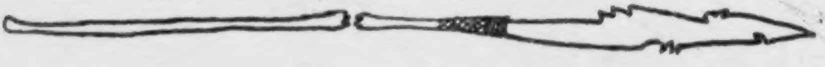
411
192
The bow (an@aba)is tightened by placing the lower point on the ground, while the left hand grasps the top, and the right hand the middle The left knee is then brought to bear against the bow and the ʃokw (split liana cord) slackens. The arrow is held against the ʃokw (in the right hand) between thumb and forefinger of the index finger. The palm of the left hand pushes out against the bow. The thumb circles the bow; the index finger arches over the arrow so that the latter rests in the crotch between the thumb and index finger. As the bowstring is drawn taug, the bow is raised until the arrow is just below the level of the eye. The left arm is straightened as the string is drawn back with the right.

Arrows are made from either wood or bamboo shafts. (See figures below).

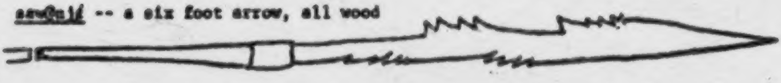
minjé -- a six foot arrow with bamboo shaft



kwoné -- a six foot arrow with bamboo shaft



asw@nijé -- a six foot arrow, all wood



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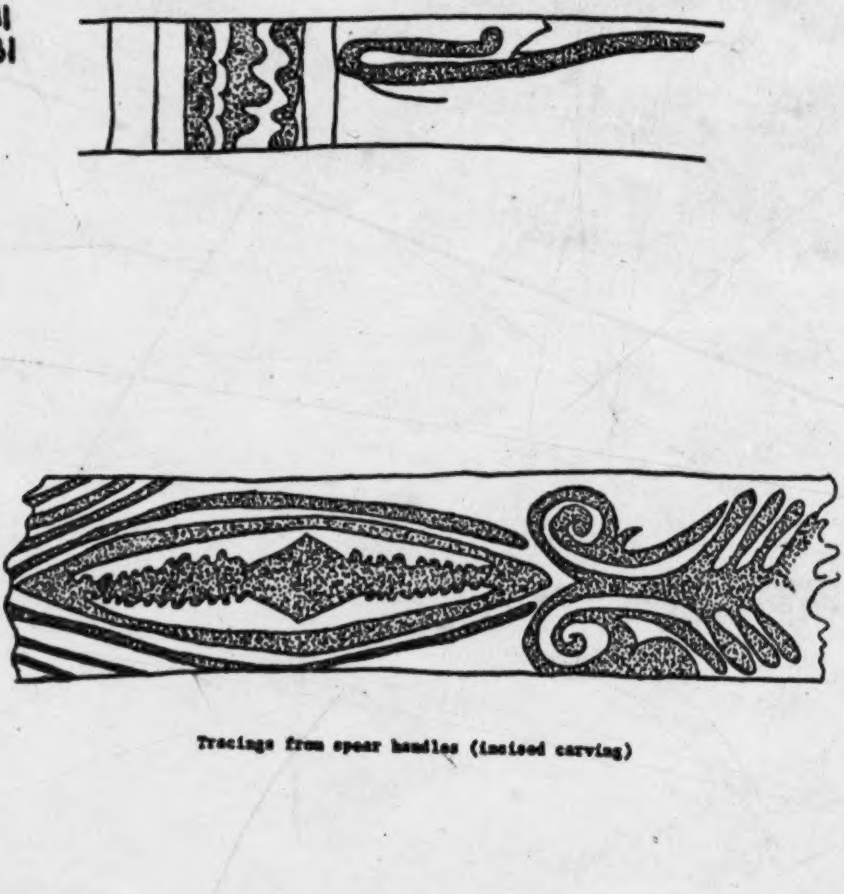
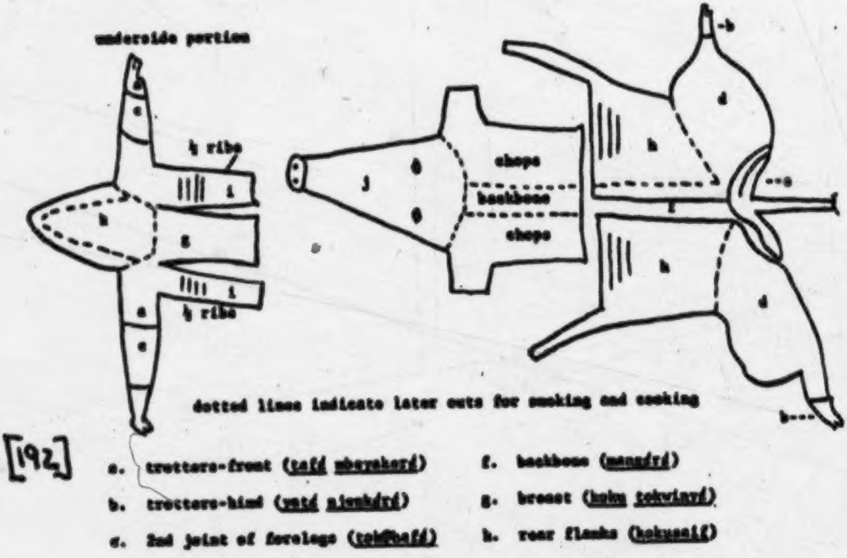


Tracings from spear handles (incised carving)

Butchering a Pig

231
252
[412] All the cutting is done with bamboo knives which are very efficient. About a half dozen knives, each eight inches long and one inch wide were prepared. The bones are broken with an ax. The hair or skin is not removed. The figure below illustrates the cuts of a butchered pig, how it is cut and labels the definitions which follow.



dotted lines indicate later cuts for smoking and cooking

[192]

a. trotters-front (tafí mbeyakorí)
b. trotters-hind (yatí niembírí)
c. 2nd joint of forelegs (tokíbafí)
d. 2nd joint of backlegs (kwajíbwaí)
e. tail and tenderloin (hinyí afhí)
f. backbone (manafrí)
g. breast (kuku tokwinyí)
h. rear flanks (hokusaií)
i. fore ribs (mayí)
j. upper jaw and brain case (masíhí)
k. lower jaw (kwajumo)

231
252
192

Cuts of a Butchered Pig

takimpi	breast, lower jaw, outer end of ribs, and fore legs to shoulder
maséké	upper jaw, head, shoulders, front half of back bone, chops
kwajimpi	back half of animal, cut in two along right side of backbone
yikufé	womb containing foetus
wofu	liver
masəké	heart
kumbo	stomach
sungu	intestines, large and small
herumpé	lungs
kwayo	gaul
mbini	shoulder blade
neyémunt	neck bone
kinyé	tail and tenderloin
hofu	long muscle below backbone
wadi	ribs in *kwajimpi* portion
kénékén	lower portion of hind leg
kwajəmpé	second joint of back leg

231
252

Butchering procedure

1. All legs cut through at second joint, skin remaining
2. Ribs chopped on either side of breast bone
3. Breast bone cut around sides and belly and flapped forward over head
4. Belly slit to anus
5. Vitals removed and put in palm spathe; gaul is cut out and thrown away
6. Ribs chopped in three equal sections on either side of back bone-- two breaks on each side

231
252

7. Long muscle on either side of backbone is cut away from front and is left attached at the tail side.

8. Lower jaw chopped from upper on either side.

9. Shoulder joint cut through-- skin on lower half remaining.

10. Cut made in from second rib from back to the break in ribs nearest backbone and along this break out to mouth, thus removing breast bone, part of ribs, lower jaw, and first two joints of forelegs.

11. Backbone chopped and cut through at second rib from back and head, upper jaw, shoulder, and half of back removed.

12. Ribs are chopped close on either side of backbone.

13. Tail and tenderloin cut out and two hind legs separated along back bone-- back bone and tail remaining on left side.

231
602
593
192

Division of parts to relatives

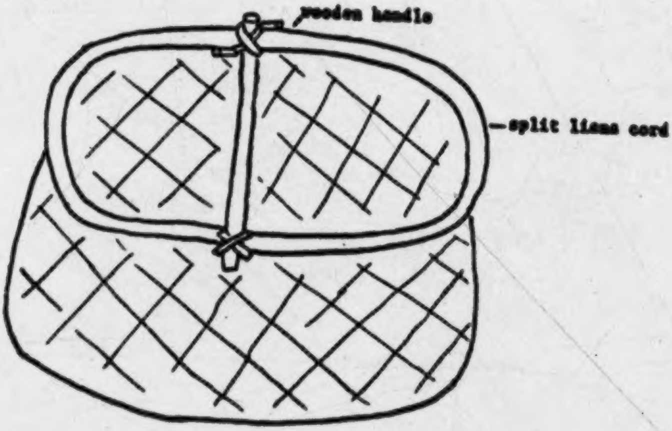
kwajump	mother's brother
tak@hafé	father's sister
takimpi & *suku tokwiyé*	sister
maséké, *amoe*	father's brothers
yaté na@okéré	brothers
mana@ré	wife and children
hokusaif	wife and children
meyi	wife and children
entrails	wife and children

251 [252] Pig flesh is preserved by boiling it first with yams, bananas and spinach. The broth is eaten and the pieces of meat removed from the cooking pan and smoked. A platform of green boughs is made, the height varying from two to four feet depending on the amount of flesh to be smoked. A fire is made under the platform and keep burning continually for three or four days. The flesh is then put in *murwiyayi*, a bamboo cage, where it hung over the ordinary cooking fire so that its smoke reaches the flesh as much as possible.

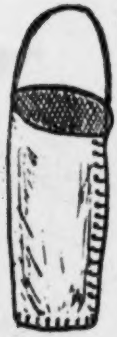
Fishing

226 [462] Fishing is the work of women. One method of fishing consists of damming a small stream to change its course and picking up the fish from the dry bed. Fish nets (maye) like the one shown below are also used. The women hold the net in the stream until the fish swim into it.

227 [192] Fish Net (maye)



415 [192]



Basket (hompé)

Made from palm spathe, sewn with afokwag needle and fokw, split liana cord, awl fashion.
Use to carry fish and other dry food.

227 Fishline is made of split fibers of the root of the mɔngé tree.
283 These fibers are tied together end to end to make a fine strong line
(the size of a heavy sewing thread). The hook is made of a double sago
226 needle. A grub is threaded over this so that the prongs are held close
together and parallel to the line. When the fish takes the bait the prongs
open out and down and toggle. Fishing is done when the water is high
in the holes in the swamp.

Sago Plots

245
423 Sago plots are owned either individually or by brothers or other close relatives in undivided shares. These plots are scattered widely without reference to nearness to the sib, except that there is usually one plot [428] at some point near the house in case of a sudden shortage. These plots are inherited patrilineally by the son or older brother's son.

The division of the plots depends on the exigencies of the situation. If two brothers quarrel about the sago in an undivided section, their father or some older man whose decision they respect will divide the [476] plot. On the other hand, if two people are friends or close relatives, and their plots are adjoining, they may combine plots and work them together.

Mar and Gwiyap together work about a half dozen plots. Their grandfathers and fathers owned them in common--their grandfathers marked them out.

Gardening-- planting of yams

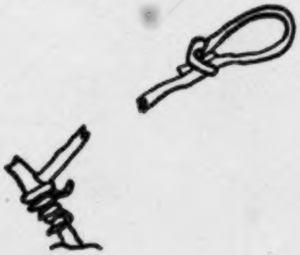
244
241 In preparation for the planting of yams, the land is cleared, the
[313] tops of large trees are cut off and the small trees are chopped down entirely. The small trees are allowed to lie on the ground for a couple of months, or until they are thoroughly dried. The refuse is then collected and burned. The ground is broken with a digging stick and the planter puts in the yams.

[311] Because of the hilly terrain, small terraces about a foot square are built. If the slope is very steep a small buttress is made with pegs stuck in the ground and cross sticks thrown behind them for a sort of retaining wall. If the slope is gentle, the terrace is made by simply leveling out the earth. The breaking of the ground is done with a pointed stick which is forced in the ground and then pried up hill while the ground is forced out and down. This prying is repeated until the terrace
244 is formed and the ground is softened. The seeds are planted butt end down and the head up at right angles to the level ground, and covered so that the stem is just below the surface.

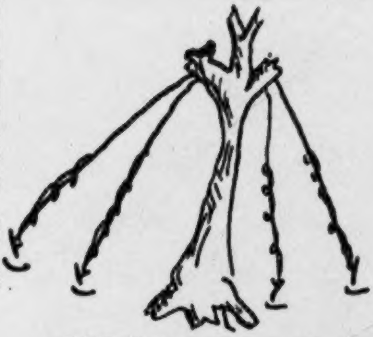
After the yams have begun to come up, stringers are put up for the vines. Split liana stringers are suspended from the branches of the cut-off trees and pegged to the ground beside each yam hill. (See figure) Care is taken so that one stringer is not pegged above another depriving it of rain and sunlight. This is done for all yam plants, the vines twining around the stringers.

244

[284]



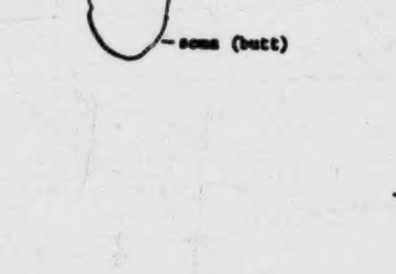
Split liana stringers

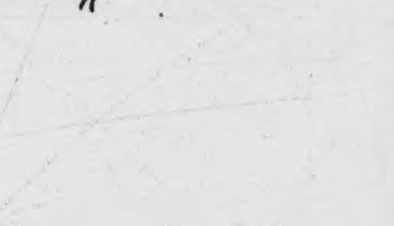


Split liana stringers and vines as attached to tree stumps

Names for descriptive parts of yams

[192]


fama kasaka (stem)
masaka (head)
small roots
nanda (body)
soma (butt)


fama (bud)
kafaka (leaf)
kowtafa (subsidiary stem)
nampa (spines)
fama (stem)

244 Listed below are some of the varieties of yams and a description of them.

192 **afosampa kow**-- a totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is very large; the leaf is dark green and large.

614

hangwa-- The fruit is long and dark, covered with fine roots. The leaf is light green or white. There are needles on the vine.

hawankwa-- A totem of the Hayamakwo sib. The leaf is light green or white, the vine very spiny.

hofu nenyi (snake)--The fruit is very long and thin. The leaf is long, narrow and dark green.

hasaya nenyi (a bird)-- A totem of the Hayamakwo sib. The fruit is very large; the leaf dark green, and the vine spineless.

kayahafa-- The fruit is long and covered with roots. It resembles the variety afosampa.

mandowa-- The fruit is long and light colored with fewer roots than the hangwa yam. There are needles on the vine; the leaf is dark green.

mandowa kow-- A totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is dark skinned, with some roots; the leaf large and dark green.

mbutuwi kow-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit is large, has no roots and is dark. The leaf is spineless, dark green.

mbagaoak-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit is rounded and dark, with roots near the head near the stem but not below; the leaf is dark green.

nenya-- The fruit is round and lumpy; the leaf long and narrow. There are no needles on the vine.

ngayatafa-- The fruit has no roots except around the leaf of the fruit near the stem; the leaf is green and the vine spiny.

nogwako-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit has no roots, the leaf is white.

wasimpira (pig's tooth)--A totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is large and flat. The leaf is dark green; there are no spines on the vine.

woya-- A variety of wild yam with long fruit and a small leaf.

Other vegetables

244 [192] Mbiraka, native spinach, is planted in betwéen the yam hills. The seeds are simply broadcast on top of the ground. This is done just after the yams are planted. When the yams are ready to be taken out, all the spinach which has not already been gathered and eaten is pulled up, wrapped in a palm spathe, and stored in the house . The seed pods on these are now ripe. They dry in the house. When a new garden is planted, the dried stalks are taken to the field and shaken over the ground, and those seeds which have shelled into the palm spathe are broadcast by hand. The rain washes the seeds into the ground.

[192] Maru, is a variety of pumpkin which was(recently) introduced; it is planted by broadcasting the seeds on top of the ground. Mayon , a watermelon, is similarly planted.

245 192 252 [462] Bananas are planted by either men or women; the suckers are transplanted. There are several varieties grown; mbwiya, eaten raw or cooked; ngayamwe, eaten raw or cooked; fayembiyaf, eaten cooked only; wasifi, eaten raw or cooked; afojokwe, eaten cooked only; yayofa, eaten raw or cooked; ngarafaye, eaten raw or cooked.

249 (245) Betel nut, kwasa, and coconut are planted by either men or women. Betel peper , kwasa , is planted by both men and women near the house. Buds of the vine are clipped and inderted in the ground. The hole is made by a digging stick or dibble.

Varieties of Taro

244
192
614

afiyenguat--	A totem of the Tug sib.
harama--	A totem of the Tug sib. The leaf is green with dark green squired; the stalk dark green.
managa oaka--	The leaf is dark green on top while the underside is a slightly bluish light green. The stem is light green.
nawakamayi--	A totem of the Nayamaiwo sib. The leaf is large, dark green with light green splotches. The stalk is mahogany red.

The head of a taro is called masaka and the body owo. A young shoot is called yeri.

Cooking and Food Preparation

264 Menus

252 Informant: Owiyap:

115 10 o'clock-- 1 boiled sago

192 1 o'clock-- 2 boiled sago

262 1 cup soup (hov ford)

Informant: Owiyap

dawn-- 1 ripe banana

7:30 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

1 boiled sago

noon-- 3 ripe bananas

3:00 p.m. 2 boiled sago

Informant: May

dawn-- 1 boiled sago

3:00 p.m.-- 3 dishes soup (lofu, [illegible])

Informant: Awa

nilingé
(breakfast)--1 - 3 boiled sago

yentéké
(lunch)-- 1 - 3 boiled sago

1 - 3 dishes soup (served in half coconut shell)

meat (fish, snake, lizard, pig or bird)

bonged
(dinner)-- 1 boiled sago

252 **Informant: May**

264 7:00 a.m.-- 1 boiled sago

115 10:00 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

262 noon-- a little pigeon meat

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

1 cup yam soup

5:00 p.m.0- 2 boiled sago

6:00 p.m.-- a bit of gouria pigeon.

Informant: Mar

7:00 a.m.-- 2 boiled sago

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

3 cups soup (meat)

night-- 6 boiled sago

262 Soups and other foods

192 foyokw ndonkw (pork soup)	- foyɨ (pork), mbonyɨ (taro), lofu (banana), mángiss (leaf greens), kow (yams), uku (water), mbir@kɨ (spinach) .
foyokw ndonkw-s@wɨ (pork and coconut soup)	-kow (yams), foyɨ (pig meat), lofu (banana) mbir@kɨ (spinach), mángisɨ (leaf greens), s@wɨ (coconut).
ymsiyɨ w@os huwutu (thick vegetable soup)	-hinyɨ (a kind of vegetable), mbir@kɨ (spinach), m@ngisɨ (leaf greens), gwɨ (sago grubs), kwinyɨ (pork).
afos@mpɨ ndonkw (cassowary soup)	-mbir@kɨ (spinach), s@wɨ (coconut), m@ngisɨ (leaf greens), mbonyɨ (taro), lofu (banana).

[252] afondowan and all smaller birds are roasted, not made into soup.

[263] [439] Fish that is bought from Yambon at the market is already smoked and is merely salted and eaten with sago.

Sago-- preparation for cooking

245 The trunk of a sago palm is cut shoulder high. The wedge is taken
[462] out in the direction toward which it is wished the tree to fall. Both men
and women cut the trees.

The felled log is then cut into sections, and the outer surface (xylem) is peeled back. A section ten feet long is enough to provide a day's work and about a three day's supply of sago.

252 A woman sits on the peeled bark and chops the log between her feet
[462] with a special adze-like tool with a blunt hardwood celt in such a way that
a half inch section of pith is scraped off and crushed with each blow. This
crushed pith is then piled onto the upper end of the washing trough (see figure
[462] below). The man helping pulls the pith down the trough until it is filled
except for a space about two feet long from the strainer. Three or four
dippers of water are then poured into the trough above the pith.

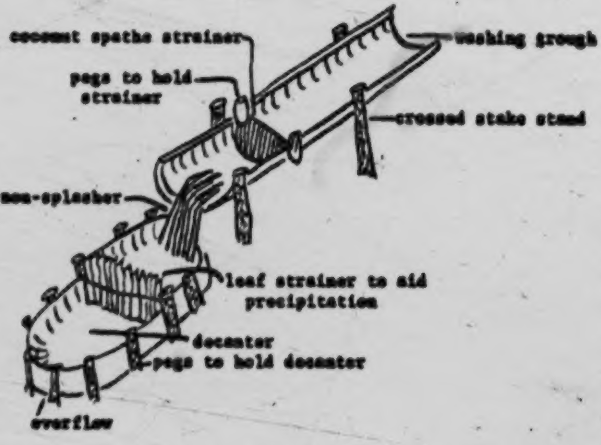
The pith is pulled up the trough, a double handful at a time, allowing the water to run down the trough and to be absorbed by the pith. If the water were first added at the bottom, near the strainer, it would run through without being absorbed into the pith.

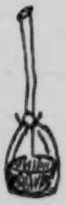
The water-saturated pith is then pulled down by the handful and squeezed like a sponge. The handful of dry pith is then put back at the top of the trough, a new handful squeezed, put at the top, etc., until all has been squeezed. The strainer is then shaken back and forth and rubbed with the hand to force the water and sediment through it. The remaining pith is drawn back. Water is added again to the remaining pith, the squeezing repeated, the pith strained, and any remaining pith thrown out onto the ground.

The water and sediment run into the decanter which is placed so that the farther end is slightly lower than the nearer end. When the water begins to run over, a non-splasher is put into the trough about one third

252 of the distance from the strainer to keep the new unprecipitated liquid from running over and to prevent the bottom part from being stirred up. The sago has precipitated, excess water that has not yet gone through the strainer might be scooped from the top leaving the mass of sago slightly drier. The mass of sago is wrapped in leaves and carried home.

252
415
417 Sago Washing Trough


coconut spathe strainer
washing grough
pegs to hold strainer
crossed stake stand
non-splasher
leaf strainer to aid precipitation
decanter
pegs to hold decanter
overflow


coconut shell dipper

Preparation of Boiled Sago

252 [192] To make boiled sago, water is heated in a pot over the fire with a half dozen seasoning leaves (yifimbdki) simmering in it (if the boiled sago is to be particularly tasty). A large lump of sago is then put in the bottom of another pot supported on the ground by a hoop of thin wood (the pots are round-bottomed). When the water boils, the leaves are skimmed off and put aside. The water is dipped into the other pot with a coconut shell dipper until the pot containing the sago is filled. It is stirred with the two "chop sticks" held in one hand. (See figures below). The water unites immediately with the sago and makes a thick gruel which becomes rubbery when it cools. This is stirred and tested until it has cooled sufficiently to congeal. The sticks are then held in each hand and rotated around each other and pulled out, dipped, rotated, and pulled out, about

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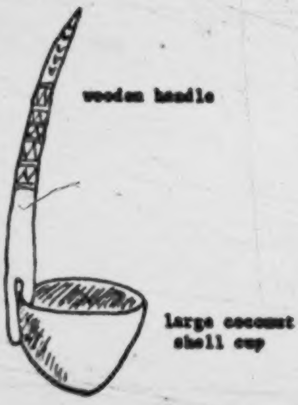
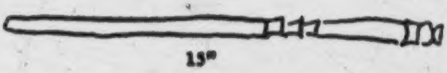
ladle (magwis@wi)



chop sticks (way@fiwi)



252 three or four times, until quite a large mass of the gruel has collected around and between the sticks. The sticks are then rotated above the pot until the excess has dripped off. The sago is then quickly transferred to a leaf (mbasambage, a rough dull green leaf about one foot square) and the sticks are pulled apart lengthwise, leaving a sausage-like globule about two inches thick and six inches long deposited on leaf. The process is repeated until about a dozen such sausages have been made. If the gruel gets too cold a little more dry sago and more hot water is added. When the bowl is empty, the leaves are folded lengthwise first and then the ends are folded back-- like a package at the store. These "packages" are piled, [462] bottom side up, so that they will remain folded. Both men and women do [516] this work, men standing up and women sitting down. When the water is hot, [857] child will usually make their own boiled sago, too.

[192] Fried Sago Fritters (ngiyi)

Sago is also fried in the following manner. A washed sago lump is [354] put on a shallow clay pot supported by three large rocks over the fire. These rocks stay put and the fire is made between them. The stones are also used to hold the deep pots used in the making of soup. The lump of sago is pushed down and left over the fire for three or four minutes. Then it is pried loose with a little wooden spatula and taken off. It is transferred to a palm spathe which has been made ready for it. The bottom of the lump has been cooked to a stiff cake and is peeled off and put onto another palm spathe. The remaining lump has now been dried so that it is crumbly. A handful of it is now broken off and pressed around the hot pot with thumb and forefinger in a layer about 1/4 inch thick. This is left for a minute or two and then is peeled off with the spatula. It is now about the consistency

252 of a pancake. Next it is placed on the palm spathe, on top of the first cake, cooked side down, and another handful is put on the pot, the palm spathe, etc. until the lump is finished. Then the process of frying the other side is begun. Water in a coconut shell or pot is sprinkled over the top of the last cake until it is damp. Then it is put back on the fire the damp side down, and the next cake is sprinkled while the first one cooks. Each cake is cooked about a minute then stacked on a leaf. When they all are cooked, the pile of cakes is wrapped in the leaf and put away until time for eating, or eaten immediately.

[415]
[192] A piece of betel spathe (taso [illegible]) is used to scrape the stirrer ([illegible]), the chop sticks (wurəfi), and the pan in order to clean them.

Preparation and cooking of yams

252 Yams are prepared for boiling by cutting off the skins with a cane knife. The yams are cut into chunks, the size of medium potatoes, and placed in a clay pot (about three quart size) to which water is added. They are boiled until they are soft, removed from the pot with yam sticks and [263] placed on freshly picked banana leaves. A small amount of salt (wɨs) is put [192] on the leaf as well.

Salt (wɨs)

263 192 [437] Salt is made by burning dried sago bark (pumbɨ). The ashes are eaten. (It tastes like medicated salt.). Solt (pidgin) is trade salt, much preferred to the homemade variety.

Pottery Manufacture

323 Ochre colored earth is obtained and worked with water with a piece
of stick a foot long, one to two inches in diameter, on a sago bark slab.
There are numerous pits in the vicinity where the proper material for pottery
can be obtained. When the mixture has been thoroughly pounded, lumps are
taken and rolled out into coils with the palm of the hand on another bark
[824] slab. The long narrow leaf of the ngola plant (which produces moté, the red
[192] berried 1' - 2' cobbwhose seeds are boiled and eaten) is taken and coiled
[262] so that it resembles a large raised doughnut. Additional leaves are
coiled diagonally and fastened so that the "doughnut" ring keeps its shape.
These leaf rings very in size for small or large pots. Several may be seen
[192] about the house. They are called songuesala.

When the clay materials are ready, a large leaf or two freshly picked are placed across the coil. Then a rope of clay is taken and put onto the leaves and threaded around the form clockwise. The pots are not flat bottomed but rounded-- like a hemisphere of a coconut shell split lengthwise. As coils are added to build up the side they are pressed down firmly. There is little flare to the side walls.

The inner walls are smoothed with the ulnar side of the second joint of the index finger in a counter-clockwise fashion. The outside is smoothed with the palm of the hand.

When the pots have been completed they are left in the sun to dry for several weeks before firing. To fire a pot, three stones are arranged in a triangle and the pot is propped on these with a stick, on its side. Dry sago spathes are packed around the outside and inside, and then burned. Pots are usually fired inside the house, although they are sometimes moved into the sun. It is thought that one must not speak loudly while pots are being baked, for they may break.

Other containers

322
415
[192]
[824]

To make a lime gourd (wafé), the stem of a green gourd is cut; the seeds are chipped out with a bamboo sliver, and shaken out with some of the meat. The gourd is then stuffed with leaves of a bush taro (kwasémbonké) and filled with water. It is wrapped with breadfruit leaves and cooked for about fifteen minutes. Then it is removed, emptied, and scraped inside and out. Next it is put in the sun to dry. (If the taro leaves are not put inside, the gourd will turn black.)

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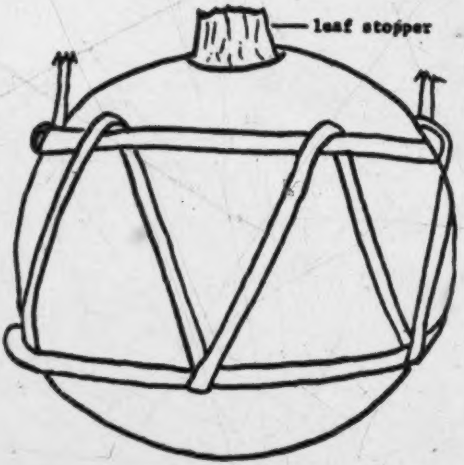
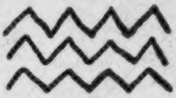
[386]

Gourd pot (ngérémbé)

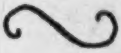
This particular pot is used for storing the sap of kwar, a hardwood tree, used as a base for black body paint (kayi). A similar cradle is made for a long gourd.



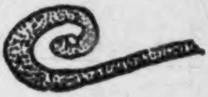
323 Incised decorations on clay pots
531
192 xŏnié (usually on top rim of pot)



smban



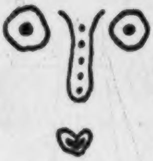
mbondmboné



miyi (eyes)

sumoenii (nose)

kwinié (mouth)



Tobacco

276 773 Long, long ago, Sukugaratá shot Sokwayágurá and left him lying on the ground. From his blood grew a plant resembling spinach. Sukagaratá made a soup of this and tried to eat it, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked the plant in a banana leaf and it was good. Since then the Kwoma have smoked. Shortly afterwards, all the neighboring tribes came and obtained the seed. Bananas, spinach, tobacco and taro are all supposed to have originated at the same time.

249 [562] Tobacco (him) is grown and smoked by men. The leaves are picked and brought into the house to dry while still green. They are hung up by the stems on palm spathe leaves with the flesh stripped off or on a sago frond with sago needles or small sticks stuck into the frond. The tobacco is dried for three or four days when the leaves are tied together by the stems, four or five at a time, and then wrapped in palm spathes.

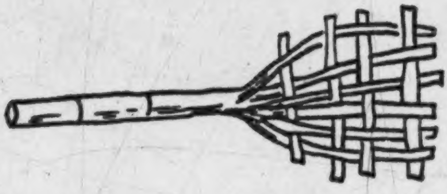
276 Cigarettes

[562] [192] Cigarettes (himdangara) are smoked by men and boys. The tobacco is wrapped in a dried leaf from the banana tree (miey). Tobacco leaves are carried either in a net bag or on the ear. Before making the cigarette, the tobacco is put close to the fire for a minute or two to dry (see figure). The cigarette is rolled first on the thigh and then between the two palms until it is tightly packed. It is lighted by holding it against a brand until it glows. It is then put in the mouth and drawn on so that it burns brightly.

[858] Children are not allowed to smoke. Their parents tell them that they will not grow if they do, but the children make a practice of stealing their father's tobacco and smoking it in the woods.

276 While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed
562 smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the
183 women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man
was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

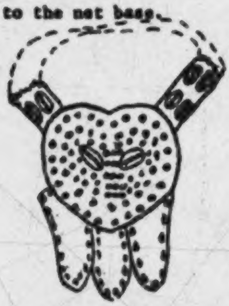
249
412 Split bamboo tobacco dryer (himɨ ma@a@tawɨ)
[192]



Ornaments

301 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (sawəmé) onto which shells
286 are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide,
237 narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).
192
[583] Shells , yasi (small cowrie shells) and aséməngéré (larger ones), obtained
[439] by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their
[436] function as money.

The figure below , an ornament called mə maséké (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.



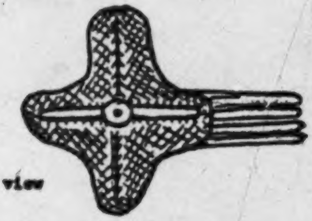
[562] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is
[796] decorated with clam shell rings (améngurè), shell ornaments (wanyiyé) ,
yasi , ascməngéré and lofu wafé (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks
[703] for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia.
The long tail feathers of the bird ofpparadise (mano) are the most highly
prised for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has
[858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can
wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mano.

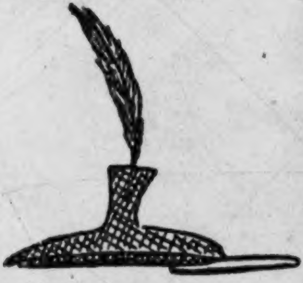
301 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is
[561] only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white
301 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo jokw) is attached
237

301 to the comb by pulling the quill down through a hole in the wood, and up
237 through another. The bird of paradise plume is worn instead only if the
[703] wearer has taken a head. The comb is worn standing upright in the middle
of the head.

[192] masawi minié-- ornamental comb
[581]

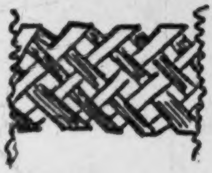


front view



side view

301 Arm bands are decorated in various manners. Each has a wicker
285 base, (fiké) , made in the fashion of a turk's head knot. Fine stitches
[192] are made from palm spathes. Coarse stitches are made from split liana cord.



[237] A white (clam) shell ring (fulé) is fastened to the arm band. It is sewed
[192] to the wicker work of the band with two or three strands of thread. The rings
vary in size from about one to two and a half inches.

302 Black paint on the face and forehead is worn only by homicides, but not
703 worn regularly.

301 *Ndəmbali* is a four row knitted ornament made with *yasi* shells.
286 The band increases in worth as further projections decorated with shells
237 are added to it. These projections are worn pointing up.

Səmbayí is an ornament worn suspended from the neck, made from a
[435] net base and covered with *yasi* shells. It resembles a necktie. The
value of this ornament is about 2 shillings.

Some examples of cicitrization around a woman's navel

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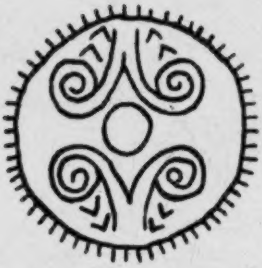

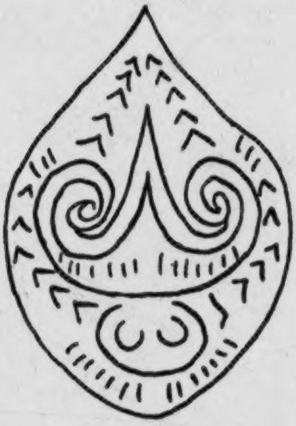

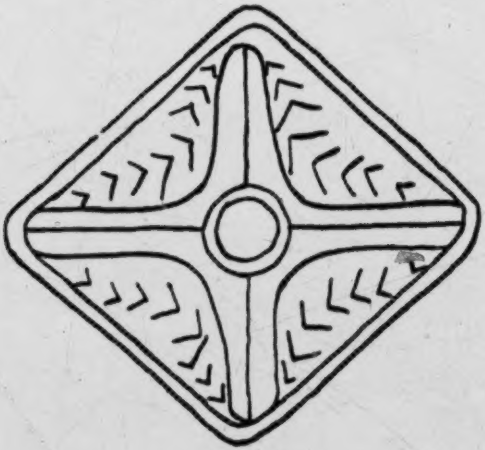

Cicatrisation symbolic of manhood

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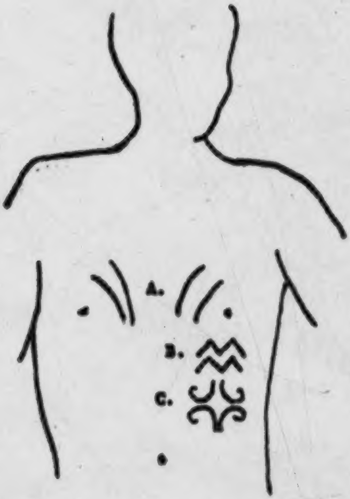


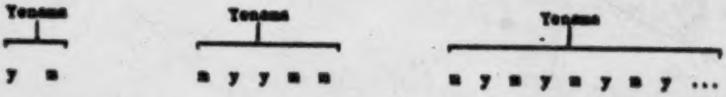
A. nákwa

B. wánjí

C. kwayí mbaakí

Moieties

616 Normally if a man belongs to Yenama, his oldest son will be Minjama, his next oldest Yenama, and so on. If however, there is a preponderance of members in either moiety this is adjusted by shifting the alternation. Examples follow of three men and their sons and their moieties.



The equality of the moieties can also be adjusted by buying a young man with a pig into the moiety whose numbers are low. Normally a man belongs to the moiety into which he is first adopeád bpt if chosen by the elders as a good worker, may change if he gives a pig and can sing for a long time without sitting down or sleeping.

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794 The mimé sugwiyé (carved figures) at the yam cult ceremonies associated with each moiety are for Yenama-- a number of small carved human heads; and for Minjama, a full carved figure of a man and several small human heads. These figures are exhibited by a member of the cult during the time of the ceremonies; at other times they are kept in the owner's dwelling.

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[837] Women belong as do their husbands. During a Yenama ceremony the Minjama women turn their net bags toward the house tamberan; the Yenama women thrn the back of the bag toward it, so that the men at the other side of the sib can tell their affiliations. A woman whose husband has seen both ceremonies is permitted to turn her bag either way. Men of Minjama have intercourse with women of Yenama while their husbands are attending the ceremony, and vice versa.

775 Spirit beliefs. Pigs, birds, dogs, opossum, mosquitoes, or anything that
825 walks, flies and breathes, are believed to have ghosts (*gamba*): *Gamba* have hearts (*masuk*) the same as living men and animals, but in the dead the *masuk* is located in the throat as in a sleeping man. Here it keeps on beating.

Gamba go about in this way with all the organs of the human being, but do not eat food.

When a man is out hunting pig at night he may see a ghost. The *gamba*
[763] are cowardly by nature. If they meet a strong man they run away; it is only people who are about to die who are surrounded by them. Men who die violently, as in an intertribal fight, see no *gamba* before they are killed.

Songíwen - a myth.

539 Long, long ago when our great, great grandfathers were not even thought of, all the women were in control of the marsalai. They had a house tamberan built in the top of a tall tree where they would climb up and hold the yaníwini and nokwi ceremonies while the men stayed home and worked hard cooking the food. Then there came a little man with light skin who was no more than a foot tall and carried a saw. His name was Songíwen which is now the name of an insect that makes a sawing noise. The men talked to Songíwen and gave him some raw (fresh) pig and a ripe banana. In return for this the little man burrowed under the bark of the sugwi tree, being careful not to disturb its outward appearance. He sawed and sawed at the wood until just a pencil width was remaining to support the tree. When the night of the women's ceremony came, all the women were up in the tree beating the gongs and blowing the sacred flutes. One of the men now went down to the water and made magic to bring wind. Then at the little man's suggestion they all lined up at the foot of the tree with their spears waiting. As the wind came up the tree began to sway. Some of the women were alarmed and looked over the edge of the platform, but the others quelled their fears, "The tree will not fall; there is nothing to fear." Any they went back to their merrymaking, but the tree kept swaying. Its arc became longer and longer and finally with a crash it fell to the ground scattering all the women. The men fell on them and killed them all. They took all the sacred paraphernalia and built a house tamberan on the ground and put in it all they had collected.

They kept this secret from all the young women who were left, and made them cook the food while they made the ceremony. Even since then the men have kept the marsalai secret ffom the women to pay them back for time when matters were reversed.

Appendix 1 GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS - [illegible]

Key to vocabulary

104
194
192

Vowels

ɇ = u in but (ɇ =α)

Ø = a in bat (Ø =α)

a = a in father

o = o in rote

e = a in mate

u = u in rule

i = ee in meat

Consonants

f and b are bilabial

mb and nd are nasalised consonants

192

Section II
VOCABULARY

afakɇ	now, today
afɇ kafɇ	soon, presently
[601] afɇ yakɇ	father's older brother
afiyangwat	variety of taro
afo	a generic term for birds, butterflies, and bats
afo fØyɇ	small bat
afojokwa	variety of banana
afo jokwɇ	fowl
afo kimbi	large bat, "flying fox"
afo kiyɇ	cicada
afo kwasɇ	large fruit bat
afo kwasɇ mØmbɇ	hair on the arms
afokwɇ	father or paternal uncle. The term refers to afi, amma, and afɇ yakɇ If one is asked who his afokwɇ is, he will answer with the name of his afi. It is also used as andɇ afokw, meaning "I am of the older generation".
afokwɇ	old man
afo ma	cockatoo
afoma	white
afo mbayɇ	birds' eggs
afo mdowasɇ	gouria pigeon

192 afo ngriyayá	earrings
afo ngwo	a small bird
afo nyumá	rock pigeon
afo nyumayá	large fish hawk or eagle
afoosaba	chisel made from pig's thigh bone
afo sâmbá-	large cassowary. A girl calls a man's penis afo sâmbá if she wants to have intercourse with him.
afoompa	variety of yam
afo sambá rukwá	a butterfly
afo senyá	nest of the bush fowl
afo sifá	small cassowary
afo wanjá	large black duck
afo wâbá	a bird's nest
afo wâyá	egret
afo yawá	duck
afo wayi	"bird canoe", airplane
afwa	greetings!
[601] agar (akárá, a)	new
ajá	maternal grandparents (those who are addressed as laka or kamwa)
aka	house, dwelling
aka fayá	the enclosed part of a house
aka jifá	the side of a house
akama	house, home. Often used to refer to one's own hamlet or village

aka ma	the front part of a house
aka ngworá	rat
akará	new, another
aká tawá	ridge pole
aka yia	rear of a house, porch
akâ wân	4" black lizard
akwá oaca	to swallow
amá	bamboo
amárgará	clam shell ring
amárukwá	house fly
amaruka mawa	fly trap
amá yawá	large bamboo with nodes knocked out. Used to carry water.
ambá	before, completed, done. Denoting completed action.
amiya	bring it quickly, come quickly, go quickly
amwa	father's younger brother
anandá	big
aná	me, to me
anáwacará	to agree, to speak
aná masi yakátá	to play
aná jakárá	taboo, prohibit
anábwa	bow

192 endé	I
endé yu yawé	I dislike
ao	clay pot'
ao hiwuto	to cook (hiyato)
ao mard	a bilassed saucepan
apasamba	cassowary
arafé	large knife
asé mangéré	shells used for ornaments and money
asé	dog;scraper
asé fu	dog's tooth headband
ato	eat
[601] atokwé	wifê's parents, parent-in-law
awisafhé	a kind of soup
awé	wild sugar plant
awambaga	a small palm
awo	mother
ayandé	moon
ayas	navel
ae aboyé wanda säté	masturbate (o). Phrase used to scold children.
eikde säw cäré	the same as this; as big as theirs
afayé	hornbill
afi	father, ceremonial
ajahawa	hungry
ajo	to have intercourse
ajo hawé	to be hungry
aki (agi)	bone dagger
angi	my, mine
aré	penis
aré wandé säté	masturbate(o). Phrase used to scold children.
asamamad	grass spider
até	this or that (demonstrative)
ayi	canoe paddle
fafa	stone
fafa afowa	white stone
fembi	hardwood point of a spear
femé	leaf, young shoot
fema kasaka	stem of a yam
fandéto	to wrap in leaves for roasting
feyémbi	areca palm, areca nut
feyambiyaf	variety of banana
fükéto	to break fire wood
füdar	one
füré jaré	three
füréwé	them (dual accusative)
füréfé	they, they two
füreti	their (dual genetive)
füréto	to draw a design
füré tawé	relation between two families(stop as one)
fi	blood, sap, milk

192

fije	to fight, spear, kill
fiké	wicker work
fojé hayi	sunset
fokwé	string or cord for lashing, vine used for lashing
fora	sago needle fish hook
foyé	pig
foyé hobw	flies
foyé utu	to boil
foyimbé	pig's tusk
foyokw	bull roarers
foyokwé	soup
fu	tooth
fulé	arm band
futo	to bring forth, come out
fuyi	white shell ring worn as an ornament
fwajc	one
fwejo	to break ground with a digging stick
fwuyé	cheek
garubw	fruit tree
girambe	tree
hafé fiké	arm band
hafémé	shoulder joint
hafé ubalé	poor, thin, "bone nutin"
hakwato	to sweep
hamba	small knife
hamba hijo	to practice phlebotomy
hamdé yayé	young man
hanga yengo	to be a little better (if sick)
hangé yato	to fly
hangwa	variety of yam
harafé	big
harémé tatp	help, assist
hato	to give; to be sick; die
hawankwa	variey of yam
hawésik	let's go!
hayémi	a tree
hocuwé	to look at, look for
hi	name, fire
hi jafé	firewood
hi ka tukato	to burn, make a fire
hikéeato	to be wrong, err
hiléké	to steal
himdangara	cigarette
him	tobacco
hinyé	a kind
hiawé	big, large (marked out)
hiso	to mark, mark out
hiyato	to cook, boil
hofema	variety of yam
hofato	to open
hofojimbifé	small tree snake
hofokiyéf	large tree snake

192

hofokm@e	2' water snake
hofu	snake
hokwé hokwa	ceremony
hokwa k@réto	to scratch onés skin
hokwa yato, hokwé yato	to scratch
hombo leyato	to be ashamed
hompa	palm spathe
hongo rukwé	arm pit
hongwé	afternoon
hongwésé	to sneeze, begin to be sick
hongwato	to loosen, untie
hoyé yikafé	man child, son
hukwiyé	meat
humboto (humbutu)	to beat a gong
i	tomorrow
ijo (iju)	go
je	vagina
jejo	to scratch, pinch
jeyé	chair, bed
ji	down below
jimbifi	sap of a tree
jia iju	to walk about, go calling
kaféré	three and four(in coming)
kafwé	black magic
kafwa sakí-	bad, no good
kamé apwé	to menstruate
kambé	swamp grass
kamwa fi	menstrual blood
karékandé	small
kasaka	stem (of taro)
katé	that (demonstrative)
kasamafa	blue dye
kayé nimbéré	personal name (feminine)
k@kété ijo	to chase
k@ukareyaf	2" white bush lizard
k@réto	to cut, scratch, shave
k@réto	to tie
késéndéfé	tree, the berries of which are used for dye
kététo	to bay
kéwato	to plant (yams and bananas)
kéyato	to weep, wail
kafé	good (applied particularly to people)
kayé fi	good
kae ijo	to dry up (sore), to peel (vegetable)
kayahafa	variety of yam same as *afosampa*
kayafé, kéyafé	ornament
kayaké	house for storing yams and taro
kayé hafé	black, blue, green
kayé ngambé	black feather

192

kijé	you two (dual gen.)	kwar	a hardwood tree
kijénd	you two (dual acc.)	kw@ef	betel pepper
kiji	you two (dual gen.)	kwasa	a magic leaf
kikiyé	tiny	kwasikd	bushland, jungle
kin	pig's tusk scraper	kwayé	tail feathers of a cassowary
kin iju	to sharpen, whittle, engrave	kwajémbé	thigh
kinyé	tail feathers, tail	kwayé	good, well, hard (adv.)
kiréso	to cut or bruise	kwinjé fofwayé	breath
kis kis	side posts of a house	kwinjé safi	lips
kiyé	flesh of pig or cassowary	kwo	net bag
kiyato, kiyéto	to carry	kwo mas	behind
koré koré	small marsupial	kwo masékd	mountain
korémbé	men's house, sib	kwoné	you (pl. acc.)/ 6" arrow
korowé	saw fish	kwo sa ma	whose, what, what is
kow	variety of yam	kwofé	stinking, rotten
kowini	½" red ants	kworé	boil, ulcer
kow@ bakow@	to wait	kwoté	you (pl. nom.)
kowtafa	subsidiary stem of a yam	kwotato, kwotéto	to cut in a sawing manner
kumbo	stomach, belly	kwoti	your (pl. gen.)
kukiya	animal food	ma	man, husband
kumbo joyé	orphan	mafuwé	first, in front
kumbojoyénl/@ o	thin, poor	magagasitit	design cut through bark of a tree - Property marks
kum okw@ef	palm	ma hayé	burial platform
[601] kumwo	younger brother	magwis@fwé	ladle
kuréké	stingless honey bee	ma kayémbi	forehead
kuréto	to curve, bend		
kwar sagwiya	afternoon ceremony		
kwoé hato	to cut up meat		

192 ma kiyafi jiju	payment to deceased wife's family
makáfá	long hair
mambá	skin
mambeyá	ear
mambeyá	hawk
mana	rat trap
managa oska	variety of taro
mandá	testicles
mandá simbá	pubic hair
mandowa	variety of yam
[601] mangáfá	mother's brother
mank	a swamp grown tree
mangá rurá məká	kidneys
mangwisa	a tree
mangárákámpá	an edible lizard
mankárá	back bone
mangala	comb ornament
mano	bird of paradise
mará kafá	little black mosquito
mara makwá-	brain, soft bone on top of baby's head
Marsilai	ghost, spirit
maəká	head, front
maətá nga	grey hair
mase	before, previously
masayá minjá	comb
maya	fish net
moyaka	strong, large, old
maye	shadow
má' fángo	wooden trumpet
márinká	white sago grub
mə	crocodile
mənd	you (sing. nom.)
məngá	tree
mətá	you (sing. nom.)
məti	your (sing. nom.)
mbambá	shell ring arm band
mband mband	nearby
mbango word	pig skin shield
mbas	tinea; small lizards
mbasambaga	a rough leaf about 1' square, used as outer wrapping for boiled sago.
mbawakáyata	to return to one's house
mbayá ngayá	side
mbe	egg
mbeyajo	to be crazy, insane
mbi	point
mbiriká	spinach
mbiyuku	1' lizard
mbom	mouth
mbombo	hammer
mbonká	taro
mbora wangá	neck
mbos	small lizard
mboyni	a tree

192 mboayi	old
mbâ	belly
mbu	ground, earth
mbukánawá	to refuse
mbukw	a certain leaf
mbumboya	something
mbutukgunfo	2' ground snake
mbutuwi	variety of yam
mbuño	nothing, no, not
mbwiya	variety of banana
me kambá	bush country to south, sago swamp
me mbá yowá	hole in gong
[601] mem	mother's brother
mendayá	brother (woman speaking)
menjo, menjówá	to hear, understand
merá	a tree (ficus)
mesaka	a tree
mesalaf	a tree
me säká	heart, fruit
mesárimbá	gong beater
[601] meya	rib bone
meyom	water melon
miji	a sago grub
mikwándá	snake
mimá	wife, woman
[601] mimá yikafá	female child, daughter
minjáfaakiyá	6" edible black bush lizard
minjá futa	to be sick
miyi	eyes
miyi mbonjá	eyebrow
miyi nambá	eyelids
moga	nipple, breast, milk
mokä adambá	urine
moka	sperm
mokufi	milk
mokwá nambá	light brown skin, white skin
mokwi	the cicatrisation on a woman's belly
mombo	bamboo beheading knife
mombá asá	comb
mongwi yangwá	rubbish
morinjá	a white sago grub used to bait hooks
mowunyaga	variety of banana
mowá säká	large tree with fine grained wood. Yambons use it for canoe making.
mowi	sister
moyi	large fish
moya	" "
mugwiyayá	bamboo cage
mwanjá	court of older men who decide on crimes and sorcery.
mwanjá mbata	to talk

192 na	imperative particle
nenda	body of yam or taro
nembé (bared)	crack
rampa	small roots or spines of a yam
nangré	something
narámboyi	friend, blood brother
[601] narend	brother's sister's wife
nawa 1	go!
nawekd	large white ground snake
[601] nawé yoké	father's older brother's wife
rayé@o	water snake
nayémé n@kd	red, light brown
nayémbi	year
[601] n@fé	dry, ripe
n@gdica	to hold in hand
n@kéré, n@kard	yellow
n@kériyard	to be well
n@ubé	feathers, hair
n@udé kwat	central post in a house
nam@kay@war	2" black house lizard--inedible
n@ngangwaad	small black bush mosquito
n@ward	to howl (dog)
n@wedké	moon
nbegnook	variety of yam
ndangi yombard	small bug which supposedly kills a man if it gets in his ear
nd@féré	first two units in counting
nd@féré	four
nd@féré haré	three
nd@ké	here, at this spot
nd@mboli	four row knitted ornament
nd@ngaré	a piece, bit, part
nd@ngato	to cut up
nd@té	this
ndompé	short
ndowékay	rat
ndower	a plant
nenyawd	earthquake
nenyé	yam
neyi	wife's sister's child
ngambé	ghost; ornament, markings on a pot
ngambérungwanyé	small tree bat
ngarafaye	variety of banana
ngawé	pith
ngayamwe	variety of banana
ngayama	lizard snare
Ngayé Ngayé	original inhabitants of Kwoma
ngayatafa	variety of yam
ngayé	sago scoop
ngéwi	fried sago fritters
ng@rato	to shave face

192 ng@ré ng@ad	an ornamental betel stick
ng@risijo	to peel, part of process of scraping sago pith
ng@ad	tally which records the amount of bride price; lime spatula
ng@yá	fried sago fritters; a small bush lizard
ngimyá	toy used to imitate sound of gongs
ngole	a plant
ngowá	bone of "flying fox" used for needle
ngoro	long
ngowá y@kis	orange bodied mosquito
ngowemi, ngowimi	large orange ants
ngumbetmoemi	cross beam
ngumbe	sedge
ngumbwiyo	sweet potato "tapioc"
ngungwinyá	marrow
ngwantomayá	spider
ngweyá	long bamboo pole used to hang runners on yam plants
ngworo	high, long
ngwoto	to fill up
ngw@tá fak@to	to empty
ngwimbihofo	2' ground snake
ngwusi	tortoise, turtle
ngowoyamp	sago needle
[601] nirjokw	daughter's husband
nonumekd	large clam shell
nokwá-	sago
nombonje	broken
nijé n@ngá	evening
nijengá	morning
niji	night, dark-
njimbi	comb ornament
nje	banana leaf paper
mogwako	variety of yam
mogwieá	Australian
nokwa	vegetable food
nokwa amaga	long, ribbed leaf
nokwangora	hot water
nokwáfá	many
nokumekd	large clam shell suspended from necklace
nokwángorá	boiled sago pith
nokwá n@wá	paw paw
nokwa	raised scars which are a symbol of manhood
nokwis	white man
nombo	road
nombonje	broken
nouá	us (pl. acc.)
noaafá	ground
notá	we (pl. nom.)
noti	our (pl. gen.
nowá	ground, earth; tree, the berries of which are used for dye

192 nambuy@rék	day before yesterday
nyinyawé	earth quake
wamaup	digging stick
oayimbi	domesticated betel nut
ofw@lé	later
ofwoyéyahét	to come sometime later
okamalaga	lizard snare
oké	a boil
okéramé	sweat
oménd@badé	far away, distant
omo	food, meat
omok@ré	mirrow
otato	to do, work
otowé ak	to cook
owé	an edible insect, sago grub
owés@hé	fern, sago shoot
r@né	him
r@té	he
r@ti	his
rokwiyéte	to empty
sa	an expletive to call attention
safé	skin
sakanowa	red dye
saké sowékwato	to fall down (a person)
sambo kafwa	sever relations between families
sakawé	to fall down (an object)

saw@njé	6' all-wood arrow
samawé	large edible grasshopper
saw@né	base on which shells are sewed for ornaments
samuto	to sing; to teach or to scold
s@ké s@éto	to sizzle, dry up on fire
s@mbayé	ornament suspended from neck
s@maké	following
sémbayé	base on which shells are sewed for ornaments
séwanato	to fetch (water)
sanguré	bark rings
sa awa	form of greeting
sacuwé	to place, put
sembi	hair, short feathers
sanyé (often pronounced san)	form of greeting
s@né	black magic
s@té	she, it
s@ti	her, its(gen.)
s@wé	coconut
s@wé fo	coconut milk
s@wé fiju	to break a coconut
s@wé najé	red
s@wé omoyatu	to take out the meat of coconuts

si	ants
sicé	we two, we
sin	variety of banana
sokérenkéré	2" lizard
sokwato	to come up (wind or plants)
soma	butt of yam or taro
sombo	lacking, empty, emptied
songawen	cicada
sowangéhokwé cica	to whistle
sowé,	wind
suferukw	18" black lizard
sufu	hole
sufétambi	"lap lap" (pidgin)
sug@riyowé	6" black bush lizard
sugilwas	beings thought by women to make noises of flutes, gongs, etc. at ceremonies
sugwiyawé	to dream
sugwiyé	ceremony; hant sugwiyé, age-grade ceremony; yenéminjé, yam cult ceremony
sugiléwas	*marsalai*, or wooden figures representing them
sumagwiyi	upper lip
sumba sumba	without expecting pay
sumo	buttocks, rear, back of anything
sumo sufé	anus
sumwe sumwe	without
sumwanjé	nose
sunga	intestines
sungé moenj (sunga moenj)	sorcery court
suwafa	co-wife
suwatu	to roast
tafé	arm; handle; limb of a tree
tafé homátu	to hiccough
tafé mangéré	back of hand
taféma	finger; fifth unit in counting
tafémbis	fingernail
tafémbonkwé	elbow
tafé miyi	wrist joint
tafé se	upper arm
tafé wofa	palm of hand
takimpi	chin
takwé meyémé hato	to yawn
tarokwayé	tongue
tarato	to chew
tawé	stop, remain, live
t@fé	trough for washing sago pith
t@gdré	bit, piece, section, portion, remainder
t@kimbdeibé	beard
t@minéma	shoulder
teejico	howl, bark

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togrowé	to tie a knot
tombokwicu	to carry on the shoulder
tompo	short
tosáto	to dance
ufériad	two; sometimes, "they two"
ufárisimbé	a few
ugum@rá	a large eel
ugu edwé	to chew betel
u handá wandá	down
uk@mbos	1" black lizard
uku	water
ukumo	2" edible black bush lizard
uku nyeyi	high water
ukwa	sickness; phlegm
uménief	small opossum
uwato	to shout
umanje	large opossum
uwé	husk of betel nut
uwiya kwo	womb
wafé	lime gourd
wafé daké	hole in top of lime gourd
wafiyokw	2'-3' ground snake
wagéndagít	inter - tribal court
wajé	breadfruit
wanda	an herb
wangeyef	the rim of a fish net
wanyiyé	shell ornament

waru	pumpkin
wasifi	variety of banana
wasimpira	variety of yam
waterásokwato	to wake and rise
wato	sleep
wayé	rain
wayufa	6' tree snake
w@ná	to paddle; black paint
w@s	salt
w@sato	to greet
w@kiy bwwato	to bake lime
w@játo	to set a post
wéménkwé	spoon roughly made from coconut shell--no handle; raises scars which are a symbol of manhood
wésógayé	German
wesard	small nut-like betel which grows wild
weyw	canoe
woké	drum (kundu)
woré	a plank shield
woyé bokwé	the ringing of an ax
woyémá	celt holder
woyéto	to fill up
woyéhiyé	grass
woya	wild yam
wóya	adze
woyico	to vomit
wur@fiyé	chop sticks

192 wurámbeyá	wooden sleeping slab	yand kwat	back central post in house
wus	salt	yandminjá mugwiyá	yam cult ceremony
ye mongwo	middle of the night	yandsafá	tobacco pouch; tree from which tobacco pouch is made
yantáká	lunch	yará	cross rafter
yar	on a level	yasogwat	to lift up
yaráfaká	day after tomorrow	yeyi	paternal grand-parent; young shoot on tree or plant
yasi	shell used for ornaments and for money	yeyáwo	to go down
[601] yatá mandrá	shin bone or shin	yicá	they (pl. nom.)
yatá má	toe	yici	their (pl. gen.)
yatámberanj	calf of leg	yiou	to sit down, to put or place, to be situated
yatámbiad	toe nail	yikafá	child
yatámbonku ngurá	knee cap	yikafa	son, ceremonial address
yatá minjá	lame foot (also proper name)	yiná	them (pl. acc.), the
yatámiyi	ankle	yinyá	then
yatá wofa	sole of foot	yi tow	ridge pôle extension
yato	carry, come, bring	yiyi	their
yifámbáká	seasoning leaves	yo	top, up
yeyamá	rafters	yofa	banana
yeyofa	variety of banana	yokwiad	razor
yəndad	generic name for insects, applied chiefly to mosquitoes, but not to flies	yomu	a kind of palm
yəráká	yesterday	yompa	spear
ye iou	to carry	youkwo	long handled chisel
yokwad	to pull down, to cut down		
yombáru	ax		

192 yoséte	to sprinkle
yoto	to throw a spear
yowí kauyí	tin
yowí	work
yowotu	to have intercourse (of animals)
yu yawí	to dislike

Common Phrases

192 an iju fundar témbé niyi	I am going for one night
an yo odédé kuo ma saméfé yagét	I'work make later'. I will come.
an yikafand mokwujijé	I show, teach my child
an yikafand wejuwé	I scold my child
and itaa hawa	I am hungry
an wen inyé kafwé hegijo	I am 'sorry too much'
an mend hec iju	I will look at you (think of you)
afoké ce tané ngeji réwaté	Don't wake him; he sleeps
owij	What are you doiug that for?
mé ya yé	Bring something
né yayé yayi	Carry it away
igapan@	my child
igap@ kiy@fah@	my good child
igap@ hawa@	my child is dead
hayah@	he is dead

196 "banis"	roof
104 "cuscus"	opossum
"drink house"	tavern
"fashion belong me all the same you"	my customs are the same as yours
"fashion of monkis"	a childish custom
"fight the garamut"	beat the slit gongs
"finish timer"	one who has completed a years work on a plantation at the coast
"finished timers"	former plantation workers
"food belong kanaka"	native food
"gayman along mi ol saim"	lied to me
"gouria"	pigeon
"hard work too much"	very hard work
"he no got cross now"	he is not angry now
"house sick"	hospital
"I think"	I think so
"kai kai"	dining
"kiop"	Australian patrol officer
"klambu"	mosquito net
"lap lap"	wrap around shirt
"lapun"	old man
"lapun meri"	old woman
"lik lik im broke im"	she only breaks little twigs
"like bilong meri"	it was the girls' idea
"limbom"	sago bark
"luluai"	chief appointed by the Australians
"maratta"	thatching
"marked"	noticed
"missin"	missionaries
"monki"	child
"monki nutis"	child with no status
"nats nats"	mosquitoes
"no got"	it is not true
"papa true bilong them"	their real father
"pushed"	had sexual intercourse with
"raused"	driven out
"sac sac"	gruel made from sago palm flour
"savvy talks"	one who understands pidgin English
"singsing"	ceremony
"something nothing"	inconsequential
"talk place"	speak Kwoma
"talk straight"	coherently
"tambu"	shell money
"tumbat"	gong
"yes, broke im nose"	break his nose

Appendix 2

551 Meaning of Personal Names

Asenampe	dog's fur
Aun	a leaf
Fit	a kind of hawk
Kis and Kar	mountains of Yasi
Kwiya	a fish
Mar	the digging stick of Karambakoos, the marsalai responsible for earthquakes
Marok	a hawk
Mas	a kind of red yam
Mey	milk ribs
Takewur	small fish (omakara)
War and Way	small fish
Wof	a marsalai, the son of Kiremabakoos
Wogahoke	the ringing of an axe
Yat	a marsalai dwelling in swamp

Appendix 3

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INFORMANTS AND INDIVIDUALS OF RUMBIMA HAMLET

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551
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Note: The people of Rumbima Hamlet are indicated with respect to household, relations, kin, and age on pages 11, 13, and 17 of Becoming a Kwoma by John W. M. Whiting. Following is an alphabetically organized list of the names of these people along with some people from other hamlets who appear frequently in the text. A few characters who only appear once in the text are not included in this list. Sex is indicated by capitalizing the names of the males.

Name	Age	Lineage
AFALOWANJ	adult	Other. Wood carver.
Afi	8	Mangwiyow
AFOK	30	Wasahof
Amba	adult	Mangwiyow
ANGADIM	4	Wasahof
ANGEMAR	1	Wasahof
ASANAMPA	adult	Other.
Awa	15	Mangwiyow
Aya	16	Wasahof
Bora	adult	Mangwiyow
Buka	10	Mangwiyow
Chinuwa	adult	Mangwiyow
DAW, DAWANGI	36	Wasahof
Dawi	adult	Mangwiyow
Difa	adult	Mangwiyow
EVE	adult	A British oil search engineer.
Famba	child	Mangwiyow
FIT	10	Mangwiyow
FOKDTAY	35	Wasahof
Gega	adult	Mangwiyow
Gufo	adult	Wasahof
GWAMP	6	Mangwiyow
Gwanta	15	Mangwiyow
GWIYAP	15	Mangwiyow
HAMB	7	Mangwiyow
Haya	7	Mangwiyow
Huwena	adult	Wasahof
KADOWAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
Kafa	adult	Mangwiyow
KAR	27	Mangwiyow
KAWAP	2	Wasahof
Kaya	adult	Mangwiyow
Kayamaka	7	Wasahof
KEWARI	adult	Other
KIS	25	Mangwiyow
KOMB	adult	Other
KUM	4	Mangwiyow
Kuma	adult	Mangwiyow
KWALUMP	34	Wasahof
Kwiya	15	Mangwiyow
KWONAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
KWONAYI	young adult	Other. Had worked in gold fields. Spoke pidgin.

	Name	Age	Lineage
621	KWOS	8	Wasahof
162	LATAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
	Mana	12	Mangwiyow
551	MANO	24	Mangwiyow
	MAR	18	Mangwiyow
613	MAROK	23	Mangwiyow
	Mbwimbwi	adult	Mangwiyow
	MERIK	5	Mangwiyow
	MES	18	Wasahof
	MEY	12	Mangwiyow
	MOETSI	Old man of Hongwam - suspected of being a sorcerer.	
	MUNDIK	young adult	Other
	Nemaingamp	adult	Other. Of the coast. Wife of Nembonai.
	NAMBONAI	adult	Other. Of the coast. Houseboy.
	Nawa	adult	Wasahof
	NAWABAMEM	adult	Other. Thought to be a sorcerer.
	Ngwiye	adult	Wasahof
	NJAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
	BOB OVERALL	adult	Recruiter
	Pemba	17	Mangwiyow
	PWISAMBI	adult	Other
	SOF	adult	Other
	SOWINAMBI	adult	Other. Cicatriser
	SUKATAYA	adult	Other. Good hunter.
	Sunge	adult	Mangwiyow
	SUW	3	Mangwiyow
	TAKAWUR	38	Mangwiyow
	Toka	6	Mangwiyow
	Uka	24	Mangwiyow
	WAR	34	Mangwiyow
	WARAMUS	30	Wasahof
	WAY	46	Mangwiyow
	WENYAMENJ	old man	Other
	WINGAWI	adult	Other
	WISEP	young adult	Other. From the coast. Houseboy.
	WIYANGAWC	adult	Other. Cicatriser.
	WOF	45	Mangwiyow
	Yama	adult	Mangwiyow
	YAT	32	Mangwiyow
	Yawa	15	Wasahof
	Yawaka	5	Wasahof
	Yimba	18 mos.	Mangwiyow

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Kwoma OJ13

[For information on the Kwoma Yam Cult, sometimes referred to as a male secret society, see category 794.]

2: Whiting

OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

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[For additional information about informants, see category 116, pp. 140-170.]